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Quotations from Chairman Mao

Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is essential to make this question clear. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation.

Our country at present practices a commodity system, the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat. So if people like Lin Piao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system. Therefore, we must read some more Marxist-Leninist books.

An important task on the ideological front today is for us to unfold criticism of revisionism.

The masses have a potentially inexhaustible enthusiasm for socialism. Those who can only follow the old routine in a revolutionary period are utterly incapable of seeing this enthusiasm. They are blind and all is dark ahead of them. At times they go so far as to confound right and wrong and turn things upside down. Haven't we come across enough persons of this type?

* * *

Hit Back at the Right-Deviating Wind of Reversing Verdicts in Science and Technology Circles

by

Mass Criticism Group of Peking and
Tsinghua Universities

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 2, Feb. 1, 1976)

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, initiated and led by Chairman Mao personally, profoundly criticized the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao and gave an impetus to the vigorous development of China's science and technology. Many new and important achievements made in the field of science and technology, including the recovery of the artificial earth satellite according to schedules, artificial synthetic insulin and the determination of insulin crystals, indicate that China is constantly attaining new heights in science and technology. The worker-peasant-soldier masses and scientists and technicians are advancing in great strides in the direction indicated by Chairman Mao and with the revolutionary spirit that "nothing is hard in this world if you dare to scale the heights." Some time ago, however, those in the science and technology circles and those in the educational circles with absurd arguments, echoing and coordinating with each other, stirred up a right-deviationist wind to reverse previous verdicts. Having acted to their full hearts' content, they ranted boisterously: "After all, who can say clearly what constitutes a revisionist line in scientific research?"

Those who have fallen into the quagmire of revisionism naturally are unable and unwilling to talk about this problem clearly. But once you analyze it with Marxism, the answer is very clear: The strange talk in the science and technology circles is precisely a specimen of the revisionist line in scientific research.

I.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Unite for one purpose, that is, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. This must be realized in every factory, village, office and school." This brilliant instruction of Chairman Mao's very clearly sets forth the fundamental task for all fronts in our country, and must be firmly implemented by all without exception. In the science and technology circles, however, those who stirred up the right-deviating wind to reverse previous verdicts brandish the signboard of peculiarity to science and technology and openly declare: "The dictatorship of the proletariat shouldn't be mentioned on the science and technology front."

What makes the science and technology front so peculiar that even the dictatorship of the proletariat should not be mentioned? Those who entertain absurd notions reply: "Dictatorship cannot be imposed on science and technology."

It may be asked: Who says dictatorship should be imposed on science and technology? Dictatorship has always been applied to relationships between one class and another, and not to those between man and matter. To distort the exercise of the dictatorship of the proletariat on the science and technology front as dictatorship over science and technology is as absurd as describing the exercise of the dictatorship of the proletariat in factories and villages as exercise of dictatorship over machines and food. Here, those stirring up the Right-deviating wind of reversing verdicts resort to the most despicable means of fabrication, "impose the apparently stupid ideas on their opponents in a polemic, and then refute them." This is exactly the trick played by the renegade Kautsky in the past days.

Natural science studies the laws of nature, but in a class society people who take up science and technology, units engaged in scientific and technological research and their leadership as well as administrative organs are invariably restrained by the class and line struggles and serve the dictatorship of a certain class. In capitalist society science and technology are in the hands of capitalists, and "natural science is subordinate to capital" and becomes an instrument that serves the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the interests of capitalists. In socialist society science and technology should be mastered by the laboring people and serve the dictatorship of the proletariat and the interests of the laboring people. Those who stirred up the Right-deviating wind to reverse previous verdicts deliberately confuse science and technology with the science and technology front in a vain attempt to negate the necessity of exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat on the science and technology front by making use of the peculiarity of the objects of scientific and technological research. To substitute the wrong concept for the correct, resort to sophistry, exaggerate the peculiar and negate the general, these are precisely revisionist tactics.

The proletariat must exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture. In the past the science and technology front was dominated by the exploiting class for a long time, and both the bourgeois bias and traditional forces were just as deeprooted as in the education circles. In the 17 years before the great cultural revolution Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang pushed a revisionist line in the science and technology circles. Many scientific research units were likewise the dominions of bourgeois intellectuals. After the great proletarian cultural revolution many new things conducive to the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat have emerged, but the fruitful results of the struggle are still not quite solid and some places remain in the grip of the bourgeoisie to this day. The struggle on the science and technology front is still very acute and complicated with regard to the question of who should occupy it, what line is to be implemented and what orientation and road should be followed for its development. Lenin once criticized the erroneous ideas that denied the existence of class struggle on the science and technology front. After the October Revolution, some people claimed that "the science laboratory is a united collective, where all its members act in concert and consciously carry out their activities." Thereupon, Lenin incisively pointed out: "Wrong. This is impossible before classes are abolished." To assert that "the dictatorship of the proletariat should not be mentioned on the science and technology front" is, in essence, to negate the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie,

to deny the need to take class struggle as the key link, to use the theory of the dying out of class struggle to oppose the Party's basic line, to destroy the fruits of the great proletarian cultural revolution, and to allow the bourgeoisie to exercise dictatorship over the proletariat on the science and technology front.

To exercise the dictatorship of the proletariat on the science and technology front is not only to suppress a handful of counter-revolutionaries who resist the socialist revolution and sabotage socialist construction but, basically speaking, to resolutely implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the Party's principles and policies, persistently criticize revisionism, the bourgeoisie, and the bourgeois ideology that has pervaded scientific theories, and really insure that scientific research serves proletarian politics and the workers, peasants and soldiers and is integrated with productive labor. This principle is very clear. However, those who fanned up the Right-deviating wind to reverse past verdicts absurdly stated that exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat on the science and technology front would result in taking the intellectuals as "targets of dictatorship." For all practical intents and purposes, this is to drive a wedge between intellectuals and the Party in an attempt to instigate intellectuals to oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat. But this is sheer wishful thinking.

As the science and technology circles are where intellectuals are fairly concentrated, it is an important task of the dictatorship of the proletariat to overcome the bourgeois world outlook with the proletarian world outlook and to unite, educate, and transform the intellectuals. However, ideological transformation of intellectuals is quite different from taking them as "targets of dictatorship." Chairman Mao's "Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work" makes a scientific analysis of the condition of China's intellectuals and sets forth a policy which still is our guide today. Having undergone the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the overwhelming majority of the intellectuals have made gratifying progress in varying degrees. But, those who fanned up the Right-deviating wind to reverse past verdicts cooked up the strange notion about intellectuals as "targets of dictatorship" in order to smear and oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat. This precisely reflects their fear of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In his "Preface to The Civil War in France," Engels sharply exposed and jeered at the philistines of the Second International, saying: "At the mention of the dictatorship of the proletariat they are so frightened that they cry for help." More than 80 years have elapsed, and today we again see that those who fanned up the Right-deviating wind to reverse past verdicts on the science and technology front are also afraid to mention the dictatorship of the proletariat. Once they saw the big poster "scientific research must serve proletarian politics," they felt as if they were stabbed in the back or sat on thorns. This has once again shown us vividly the truth: The essence of revisionism is betrayal of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

II.

An important aspect of exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat on the science and technology front is to use Marxism to occupy the science and technology position and guide scientific research and to continue to eradicate idealism, metaphysics and bourgeois ideas of all descriptions.

Chairman Mao points out: "Marxism can only embody, not replace, realism in literary and art works, just as it can only embody, not replace, the atomic theory and electronic theory in physics." This thesis of Chairman Mao's comprehensively expounds the relationship between Marxism and natural science. However, quoting out of context, those with preposterous arguments on the science and technology front do not mention the fact that Marxism embodies natural sciences but onesidedly emphasize that Marxism cannot replace natural science, using this as a pretext to oppose the guidance of natural science by Marxism.

Marxism embodies natural science, first and foremost. In the course of creating Marxism, Marx and Engels not only summed up the experience of class struggle but also generalized the rich achievements of natural science. Marxism is the crystalization of all human knowledge including natural science. Just as Chairman Mao points out, Marx "studied natural science, history and proletarian revolution, and created dialectical materialism, historical materialism and the theory of proletarian revolution." ("Rectify the Party's Style of Work") Marx left behind Manuscripts of Mathematics. In Dialectics of Nature, Engels made a theoretical generalization of many branches of natural science in his day. After summing up the new discoveries of natural science after Engels' death, Lenin wrote Materialism and Empirio-Criticism, a brilliant work that criticizes the reactionary philosophy of the bourgeoisie. Our great leader Chairman Mao has consistently attached great importance to the philosophical generalization of natural science. "On Contradiction" and "On Practice" make a most thorough summation of the achievements of natural science. In his brilliant work "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," he made a masterly generalization of the dialectical laws governing the development of natural science. In a conversation about a Sakata article in 1964, Chairman Mao, applying materialist dialectics, gave a very incisive exposition of the question of infinity and divisibility of matter.

Precisely because Marxism generalizes natural science, the general law of materialist dialectics revealed by it operates universally in all branches of natural science. What kind of world outlook natural scientists use as a guide to their research has an extremely great bearing on whether their research can yield good results. The spontaneous and plain materialism of the natural science workers could not stand the invasion of idealism. In the late 19th century and early 20th century a large number of physicists succumbed to idealism in face of the new discoveries in natural science. This was a very deep lesson. We science workers of socialist society must conscientiously study Marxism and strive to be "a conscious supporter of materialism that represents Marxism, in other words, be a dialectical materialist."

Of course, due to the diversity of form of movement of matter and the peculiarity of contradictions, each specific branch of science has its own subjects of research. When we say Marxism cannot replace natural science, it does not mean that the guiding role of Marxism is weakened, but that people are required to learn to apply the Marxist stand, viewpoint and methods and carry out concrete, dialectical analysis and study of the work in which they are engaged. Those who stirred up the Right-deviating wind to reverse previous verdicts distort Chairman Mao's thinking and, with an ulterior motive, make a fuss over the question that Marxism cannot replace natural science.

On the science and technology front at present, the point at issue is not that of substituting Marxism for natural science, but that of securely establishing the dominating position of Marxism. Because of the sabotage of Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang before the great cultural revolution, no conscientious efforts were made in the science and technology circles to study Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works, and idealism and metaphysics were quite rampant. During the great cultural revolution, the masses of scientists and technicians raised their consciousness of studying Marxism, but that was only a beginning. To really use Marxism to guide scientific research and occupy the science and technology front will still require a long period of persevering efforts and struggle. Under these circumstances, those strange notions aired during the Right-deviating wind to reverse previous verdicts are, in reality, aimed at smothering the mass movement for science and technology personnel to study Marxism.

Historical experience demonstrates that revisionists often stage their offensives against Marxism by making use of the position of natural science. In order to defend the proletarian revolutionary line and the world outlook of dialectical materialism, Marxists must fight a battle in this sphere. One important aspect of the struggle waged by Marx and Engels against Duhring was that it was carried out in the sphere of natural science. To them, this struggle constituted a part of the overall line struggle. In Anti-Duhring, Engels criticized Duhring's anti-Marxist viewpoints in the fields from celestial body evolution, physics and chemistry all the way to biology. After the failure of the 1905 Russian Revolution, Lenin, in order to oppose Bogdanov's revisionist line, likewise went deep into the sphere of natural science. He studied the new discoveries of natural science and the "crisis in physics," and made a thorough criticism of Machism and its disciples in Russia. Chairman Mao's instructions on "do away with fetishes and self-reliantly and independently develop industry, agriculture, technical revolution and cultural revolution" and opposing "suppression of new forces" incisively criticized the slavish comprador philosophy and other viewpoints of idealism and metaphysics in the field of science and technology. By claiming that he who does not personally take part in experiments should not be allowed to express his opinion, those who stirred up the Right-deviating wind to reverse previous verdicts want to negate the struggle between Marxism and revisionism in the field of science and technology, defend the bourgeoisie and oppose the proletariat. They want to defend idealism and metaphysics and oppose dialectical materialism and historical materialism. This represents open opposition to Marxism taking over the position of natural science. It is a complete betrayal of Marxism.

III.

Running scientific research in an open-door way through integrating professional science and technology personnel with workers and peasants is a new socialist thing which emerged during the great proletarian cultural revolution. Those who fanned the Right-deviating wind to reverse past verdicts in the science and technology circles wantonly try to find fault with this new thing. They assert that open-door scientific research "makes excessive contact with reality to the detriment of theory," that "emphasis on integration with workers and peasants causes one to be afraid of studying theory." They yell: "We shouldn't open the doors of all research institutes," "it is better to make less use of this innovation."

Setting contact with production reality against development of scientific theories constitutes an upside down theory of knowledge. What is theory? "In this world there is only one kind of genuine theory, that is, the theory which is obtained from objective reality and then verified in objective reality." Man's productive activities are the most fundamental practical activities. The inception and development of the theory of natural science originated, in the final analysis, from production practice. "Once techniques are needed in society, this need will advance science better than 10 universities." Today, the people of our country are struggling for the cause of communism and striving to build China into a strong and modern socialist state. A new upsurge of learning from Tach'ing in industry and learning from Tachai in agriculture is taking shape across the land. What a tremendous social need for the development of science and technology this is! The rapidly developing industrial and agricultural production and construction pose natural science a lot of urgent theoretical problems, and, in turn, provide a vast fund of practical experience for the solution of these problems and the development of scientific theories. If we really follow those who put forward absurd notions, put the practice of our industrial and agricultural production to the back of our mind, and lock ourselves in a room to indulge in fancy thinking, then, do new topics, data, experience and reference material fall from the sky? Even if we do our best to rack our brains, we can only find some topics between the lines of journals and trail behind foreigners, and can do nothing else! Before the great proletarian cultural revolution, many scientific research units, influenced by Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line in scientific research, locked their doors to "raise their standards." They kept themselves away from factories and rural areas and researched on nothing but formulas. What was the result? "The more scientific research is carried on, the more puzzled they become." Isn't this lesson deep enough? Should the history of "large sums of money were wasted like running water, and before results were gained men had turned revisionist" be allowed to repeat itself? Through the great proletarian cultural revolution, the masses of scientific and technological workers criticized the revisionist line, plunged into the practice of the three great revolutionary movements, and worked according to the "practice--theory--practice" line of knowledge. Scarcely had they gained the first results that those who whipped up the Right-deviating wind to reverse previous verdicts jumped out to oppose them and tried hard to pull them back. But the masses of scientific and technological workers will never follow them.

By integrating themselves with workers and peasants and following the brilliant road pointed out by Chairman Mao, scientists and technicians can receive reeducation politically and promote the transformation of their world outlook. At the same time, it is also highly necessary for them to take up fresh study vocationally. Those raising the Right-deviating wind to reverse previous verdicts spare no effort in peddling revisionist fallacies. In their own words, let's "stir up a typhoon for vocational work," "increase the wind force to grade 12 if grade 8 is not strong enough." Indeed, no "emphasis" in this regard is excessive, and yet it is impermissible to emphasize integration with workers and peasants. Isn't it clear what they oppose and what they favor?

"The emergence and development of science are from the beginning determined by production." Those who directly take part in production are the masses of laboring people. The practice of the laboring people is the mass practice of hundreds of millions of people. In their prolonged practice they have accumulated numerous experiences, both successful and unsuccessful, which are the source for developing scientific theories. As in the case of the source and flow in literature and art as explained by Chairman Mao in his "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art," the same truth applies to science and technology. Only when the masses of professional workers in science and technology firmly bear this truth in mind, understand the relationship between the source and flow in developing science and technology, modestly study and sum up the fresh experience of the masses and concentrate the wisdom of the masses can they fully develop their professional skills and make greater contributions in scientific and technological work. Naturally, the fact that we advocate the open-door policy for scientific research does not mean that we want to abolish the laboratory, nor does it mean that we want to deny the merits of individual research by scientists and technicians. Rather, it means that we want to combine laboratory research with mass experiments of a greater scope and to adhere to the correct orientation of integrating scientists research with productive labor and scientists and technicians with workers and peasants. Nothing is more absurd when some research institutes use "no visitors" as a pretext to oppose the open-door policy for scientific research. Can it be that those who stirred up the Right-deviating wind to reverse previous verdicts in scientific and technological circles are so naive as to think that the open-door policy means the opening of all doors and permitting people to enter and leave as they wish as in a tea house? If not, what is in their minds if they do not deliberately distort the facts and confuse the public?

IV.

To develop science and technology, do we have to mobilize the broad masses? This is a question of principle concerning the line. Those who stirred up the Right-deviating wind to reverse previous verdicts in scientific and technological circles do not take the broad masses of people into account, and do their best to negate the role of the workers, peasants and soldiers while acting like aristocratic overlords.

"The mass movement is necessary in all work. It won't do without the mass movement." To carry out a large-scale mass movement in scientific and technological work is an extremely important feature of China's scientific and technological development.

Ours is a socialist country. In developing science and technology, can we rely on foreign aid and yield to the pressure of imperialism and social-imperialism? No, absolutely not! Chairman Mao has taught us: "On what basis should our policy rest? It should rest on our own strength, and that means regeneration through one's own efforts." Maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts is a fundamental policy for socialist revolution and socialist construction. We must never trail behind others like snails. We must seize time and steam ahead to catch up with and surpass the advanced level of the world. To achieve this goal, we cannot rely only on a few people but must launch a mass movement on a large scale and rely on the wisdom and strength of the broad masses.

Involving the masses in scientific research is of vital significance for reducing the three major differences and restricting bourgeois rights. By carrying out a large-scale mass movement on the scientific and technological front, we can enable the broad masses of ordinary laborers to master science and technology and thereby break the monopoly of science and technology by the exploiting class.

Those who stirred up the Right-deviating wind to reverse previous verdicts in scientific and technological circles consider the sphere of science and technology to be a sacred hall from which ordinary laborers are barred. In their opinion, workers, peasants and soldiers have "a very low level of culture" and are not fit to undertake scientific research. This is an attempt to exclude the broad masses from scientific research work. "The lowly are most intelligent! The elite are most ignorant!" Since ancient times, all scientific and technological achievements have been the fruits of the wisdom of the broad masses of laboring people. All accomplished natural scientists have obtained abundant nutrition from the seas of wisdom and experience of the laboring people in improving science and technology. Many of them have come directly from the ranks of the laboring people.

Under socialist conditions, the masses of laboring people have held their destiny in their own hands, their intelligence and wisdom restricted for centuries have continued to burst forth. In our great socialist motherland, the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers have "done away with all fetishes and superstition and emancipated the mind" and plunged in high spirits into the mass movement of scientific experiment. The Chinese workers and poor and lower-middle peasants have scored many brilliant achievements--from the creation of complete sets of new technological processes for oil mining in Tach'ing to the building of "sponge fields" in Tachai which led to the development of soil research, from the success of "multiple drills" to the invention of new-type electric light source, from the realization of production automation in cottage-type factories to the manufacture of 10,000-ton vessels, and from the rapid development in China's industry to the reaping of bumper farm harvests in 14 consecutive years. All of this vividly testifies to the truth that "the masses are the real heroes." The mass contingent of scientific researchers is a massive army in the field of scientific research, the major force pushing China's scientific and technological development forward. Following the deepening of the mass movement on the scientific research front, the popular ranks of scientific researchers will definitely grow and swell. This historical trend cannot be dampened or dragged back by anyone; it cannot be changed.

We have always attached great importance to the role of full-time scientists and technicians. We have always stood for combining the professional contingent with the mass contingent, for it is our belief that this is the only way to speed up the development of our science and technology. The large-scale mass movement which we say must be carried out on the scientific and technical front calls for reliance on the vast numbers of revolutionary professional scientists and technicians and for making gigantic efforts to promote as well as implement the integration of professional contingent with the mass contingent. The success in our nuclear and thermal nuclear tests and the launching of the man-made earth satellites resulted from the joint struggle of the vast numbers of workers, cadres and scientific and technical personnel as well as from the large-scale mass movement. Here,we would like to ask our comrades to think this over: Do those who stirred up the Right-deviating wind to reverse previous verdicts really attach so much importance to the professional contingent? It is nothing but a fraud. In fact, they want the masses of scientists and technicians to divorce themselves from workers and peasants and embark on the wrong road so that their profession sinks into a dead-end alley without any prospects of development. The vast numbers of revolutionary scientists and technicians will definitely see through their plots, wholeheartedly support the mass movement of scientific experiment and advance shoulder to shoulder with the workers, peasants and soldiers.

V.

The question of which class grasps the leadership has a great bearing on what line is followed. If such absurd arguments in the educational circles as that "only laymen who are dedicated to science should be required to exercise leadership" are still somewhat "reserved," the absurd arguments in this respect in the scientific and technological circles are much more blatant. They openly advocate that major leadership power should be held by "first-rate" "authorities" "acknowledged in scientific and technological circles," in a bid to oppose the leadership of the proletariat over scientific and technological work. In addition, they talk such nonsense as "the Party committee secretary doesn't understand vocational work, so he says to the director of the institute: "Comrade, I don't understand. Come, take charge. I'll listen to you!"

This is a typical theory of "experts run institutes," and its aim is to remove Party leadership over scientific and technological work. The magic wand in their hands is still the same rotten stuff once used by the Rightists of old: You cannot lead because you have no vocational knowledge; laymen cannot lead professionals.

According to materialist dialectics, "laymen lead professionals" is a universal law. If it is held that only professionals can take charge of their professions, this not only negates political leadership over vocational work, but, in reality, also negates any possibility of unified leadership over all vocational departments. Of course, this does not mean that comrades doing Party work on the scientific and technological front have no need of studying scientific and technological knowledge. Our Party has always encouraged cadres to acquire some vocational knowledge and to strive

to become both Red and expert--this for the purpose of better implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and incessantly strengthening the leadership of the Party.

As to "listen to you" and other capitulationist remarks that negate Party leadership, the vast numbers of workers, cadres and professional researchers on the scientific and technological front heard a great deal of this already before the great cultural revolution. In those days, didn't Liu Shao-ch'i practice in the scientific and technological circles a revisionist line calling for complete subordination to the bourgeoisie? Today, those who stirred up the Right-deviating wind are playing the old tune, and precisely what they want is to abolish Party leadership and to let the bourgeoisie assume power at the scientific and technological position.

The cliche that "laymen cannot lead professionals," which has emerged time and again in the scientific and technological circles, is now being peddled with energetic efforts by agitators of the Right-deviating wind to reverse previous verdicts as something of great value. This phenomenon merits our close attention, for it shows that the exploiting class definitely will not lightly withdraw from its hereditary domain. Particularly in the sphere of science and technology with its relatively strong specialized nature, the bourgeoisie often uses the scientific and technological knowledge in its grip as capital and wages repeated trials of strength with the proletariat in order to seize the leadership. Therefore, the Party's leadership over the scientific and technical front, instead of being weakened, should be greatly strengthened. Any words or deeds which seek to abandon or weaken the Party's leadership are entirely wrong.

The Party must and can lead science and technology. Leadership by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line is most basic to our Party's leadership over science and technology. The agitators of the Right-deviating wind to reverse previous verdicts oppose Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the exercise of proletarian dictatorship on the scientific and technological front, the Marxist guidance over science and technology, and implementation of the mass line in scientific and technological work. Instead, they are keen on promoting such ideas as "running institutes behind closed doors," "vocational work above everything else" and "the doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace." Can they represent the Party? No. They represent the bourgeoisie. But history has always mocked those who take a perverse course. What they really want to do is to get rid of the Party's leadership, but things run contrary to their wishes. In the course of criticizing such fallacies as "running institutes by experts" spread by them, the Party's leadership in the scientific and technological circles will be further strengthened. There is no doubt about that.

Chairman Mao has repeatedly taught us: "It is necessary to remain vigilant against the emergence of revisionism". Like wheels following one single track, both odd notions in the educational circles and a series of revisionist viewpoints in the scientific and technological circles are going after the same results through different methods; they are intensely intriguing and thought-provoking. This shows that a revisionist line opposed to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line exists. This revisionist line is characterized mainly by its rejection of the great proletarian cultural revolution and new revolutionary things which appeared in the great proletarian

cultural revolution and by its practice of restoration, regression and counter-attack in revenge as its chief aspects. It is based theoretically on the theory of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces, and its means is eclecticism. It is a serious fighting task for us now to strike back at this Right-deviating wind to reverse previous verdicts both politically and ideologically and to consolidate and develop the tremendous achievements of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

"We can clasp the moon in the ninth heaven and seize turtles deep down in the five seas." The sublime, heroic and revolutionary verses of Chairman Mao provide us with immense inspiration and inexhaustible strength. We must take class struggle as the key link, adhere to the Party's basic line, and struggle harder to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, build our country into a great modern and strong socialist state, carry the socialist revolution through to the end, and realize the great ideal of communism!

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Study the Theory of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the Course of Struggle

by

Ch'eng Yüeh (程越)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 2, Feb. 1, 1976)

In his important instruction on the question of theory, Chairman Mao points out: "Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is essential to make this question clear. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation." Chairman Mao notes emphatically: "Our country at present practices a commodity system, the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat. So if people like Lin Piao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system. Therefore, we should read some more Marxist-Leninist works." Looking back over the course of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and the course of the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines in the past year, and then taking a look at the current great debate on the educational and science and technological fronts and the criticism of the Right-deviating wind to reverse previous verdicts, we shall further understand the immediate significance and far-reaching historical importance of this instruction of Chairman Mao's and more deeply realize the utter importance of studying well the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and persisting in combating and preventing revisionism.

The great debate on the educational front involves many questions in education, but in the final analysis, the basic question is still that of whether to take class struggle as the key link, to adhere to the Party's basic line and to insist on exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. Some people in the science and technological circles assert that "the dictatorship of the proletariat shouldn't be mentioned on the science and technological front," that mentioning the dictatorship of the proletariat "easily over-simplifies matters," and so forth. In reality, they want to do away with all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. The revisionist views which oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat and spread the theory of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces appear at a time when the whole Party and the people of the whole country are seriously studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and this fact clearly shows once more that the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie remains very acute and fierce. The struggle between the two lines--practice Marxism or revisionism--is a concentrated reflection within the Party of the struggle between the two classes and the two roads. We must go through struggle in order to persist in taking class struggle as the key link, adhere to the Party's basic line and persevere in exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. If things are not properly handled, it is possible that capitalism may still be restored in certain departments. This also reminds us once again that it is imperative to continue to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and combat and prevent revisionism as a matter of top priority,

and under no circumstances must we slacken our efforts, thinking we have studied enough.

Studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat entails the need to firmly grasp the main contradiction in socialist society and deepen our understanding of the character, target, task and future of the socialist revolution. The socialist revolution is different in principle from past democratic revolutions. The new democratic revolution was a revolution led by the proletariat with the participation of the masses in the fight against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. During the period of the new democratic revolution, the main task of the revolution was to oppose imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and to overthrow the reactionary rule of imperialism and its running dogs, so that "as the final outcome of the Chinese bourgeois democratic revolution, a capitalist future is averted and a socialist future realized." ("The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party") At the stage of socialist revolution, the main contradiction of society has become the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. This contradiction determines and influences the existence and development of other contradictions. The task of socialist revolution is to persist in the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, thoroughly eliminate the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, transform small production, restrict bourgeois rights, remove the soil breeding capitalism and the bourgeoisie, and create conditions for the ultimate abolition of classes and the realization of communism all over the world. In the historical period of socialism as a whole, there is still the class struggle between the proletariat and bourgeoisie, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. The arduous task and the magnificent future of socialist revolution can only be fulfilled and brought about by continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Since our Party is the ruling party during the period of socialist revolution, the bourgeoisie will naturally pin their hope of restoration on the emergence of their agents within the Party, on the emergence of power-holders taking the capitalist road. The revisionist line represents bourgeois interests. Chairman Mao's prediction that "bourgeois flattery may conquer the weak-willed within our ranks," his scientific assertion that the main target of the socialist education movement and the great proletarian cultural revolution "is to purge those people in power within the Party taking the capitalist road," his scientific thesis about restricting bourgeois rights and the revolutionary practice under his leadership to smash the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao--all these go to illustrate this salient feature of class struggle during the period of socialist revolution. They constitute the basic theory and practice repeatedly elucidated and summed up by Chairman Mao since the Second Plenum of the Seventh CCP Central Committee. They distinguish the socialist revolution from the bourgeois democratic revolution. Through studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we should more clearly understand and grasp the basic theory and practice of our Party during the period of socialism. We should consciously persist in the Party's basic line, continually raise our consciousness of socialist revolution, and adapt ourselves gradually to the tasks and demands of the socialist revolution from stand to feeling and from thinking to action. Only in this way can we successfully carry through the socialist revolution, persist in the dictatorship of the proletariat, follow the pace of socialist revolution and become its promoters.

Many of our comrades joined the proletarian revolutionary ranks with ideas of the bourgeois democratic revolution. In the protracted revolutionary struggle most comrades continued to receive education in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, gradually established the proletarian world outlook, and consciously remolded themselves in revolutionary practice. As a result, after the stage of socialist revolution set in, they were able to accept the Party's program, carry out its line, keep up with the revolutionary situation, and go on forging ahead alongside the masses on the journey of socialist revolution. However, there were a number of comrades who were so deeply influenced by bourgeois ideology that they failed to remold themselves properly and their way of thinking remained in varying degrees at the stage of the democratic revolution. They still did not profoundly understand the main contradiction to be resolved during the socialist revolution and the character, target, task and future of the socialist revolution. They were still mentally unprepared for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Their thinking remaining stagnant at the stage of the democratic revolution, they could not correctly understand why we had to oppose the bourgeoisie and capitalism, revisionism and those power-holders within the Party taking the capitalist road. They would dislike the daily deepening socialist revolution, particularly the great proletarian cultural revolution with the participation of hundreds of millions of people in criticizing the capitalist roaders. They might waver and even oppose the exercise of all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure including all spheres of culture. They might dislike and disapprove of new socialist things. And they might resent any restriction on those bourgeois rights which they held dear and the complete rupture with old traditional concepts. If such a mentality were not changed, they might easily accept the various fallacies spread by revisionism, take the stand of the bourgeoisie, and make mistakes in the acute and complicated class and line struggles. For the past 20 years and more, during the mass movements in the various stages of the socialist revolution, cases have occurred where some comrades remained stagnant, showed no desire for continuing the revolution, and even stood on the other side opposing socialist revolution. Only by keeping up with the development of the revolution, stepping up study, absorbing both positive and negative experience and continuing to raise our understanding of socialist revolution can we fundamentally solve the question of correctly assessing the great proletarian cultural revolution, the masses and ourselves. Only by so doing can we thoroughly repudiate the Right-deviating wind to reverse previous verdicts from its class origin.

In order to raise our consciousness of socialist revolution, the vast numbers of Party members, particularly leading cadres, must link study of theory with remolding their world outlook in light of reality. Persisting in the dictatorship of proletariat and continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat means precisely that one should recognize and transform the world with the proletarian world outlook, in other words, by applying the law of unity of opposites, the fundamental law of the universe. Chriman Mao points out: "The law of unity of opposites is the fundamental law of the universe. This law exists universally in nature, human society and in people's minds. The opposite aspects of a contradiction unite and struggle against each other, thereby promoting the movement

and change of things." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") Chairman Mao applies the law of unity of opposites to observe socialist society. He analyzes the harmony and contradiction between the superstructure and economic base and between the relations of production and the productive forces in socialist society. He deeply discloses that the main contradiction in socialist society is the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, pointing out the protracted and complicated nature of class and line struggles, the importance of combating and preventing revisionism, and the orientation and tasks for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. He makes it clear that contradictions and struggle will still exist in communist society in the future and revolution will still be needed. If we look at a problem in terms of the proletarian world outlook and according to the law of unity of opposites, it will be easier for us to understand why it is necessary to emphasize taking class struggle as the key link, persist in the Party's basic line, exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie and restrict bourgeois rights; it will be easier to understand why it is essential to mobilize the masses to deepen criticism of revisionism, including the theory of dying out of class struggle, the theory of productive forces and eclecticism. It will also be easier to distinguish between right and wrong in line on these problems. If we look at a problem not with the proletarian world outlook but from the idealistic and metaphysical viewpoint, we will easily be induced to put class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat in the back of our minds. We will be led into accepting revisionist stuff or even lose our bearings and go astray. To raise our consciousness of socialist society and socialist revolution, we must endeavor to study some Marxist philosophy and some history of Chinese philosophy in the next one or two years.

Chairman Mao points out: "The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie. In this respect, the question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is still not really settled." (Ibid) The strange notions in the educational circles, representing the Right-deviating wind to reverse previous verdicts, stand for a stubborn effort to transform the world according to the bourgeois world outlook. Through debate, people can see very clearly that those who use the bourgeois world outlook to recognize and transform the world will distort and turn the facts upside down, negate the new socialist things, the revolution in education and even the entire great cultural revolution, and reverse verdicts on the revisionist line. Speaking of some people who invariably and stubbornly seek to transform the Party and the world according to their own bourgeois world outlook, Chairman Mao points out: "In these circumstances, our work is to shout at them loudly: 'Comrades!' Your way will not do. The proletariat cannot listen to you. Following you amounts in fact to following the big landlords and the big bourgeoisie, and there will be a danger of the Party and state perishing. On whom can we rely? We can only count on transforming the Party and the world according to the outlook of the proletarian vanguard." ("Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art") Do Chairman Mao's words not apply to those who whipped up the Right-deviating wind to reverse previous verdicts? If we listen to and rely on them, do we not in fact rely on the bourgeoisie and bourgeois intellectuals and allow the bourgeoisie to re-impose dictatorship over the proletariat?

While whipping up the sinister revisionist wind, those who advanced the absurd arguments in the educational circles have also dished out reactionary programs preached in the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, such as "a good scholar will make an official." Like Confucius who practiced "restraining oneself and returning to propriety" and vainly attempted to restore the declining slave system, they too want to restore the old bourgeois educational system which dominated schools prior to the great cultural revolution. Here, we see once again that the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius constitute an important ideological source of revisionism, that those who practice revisionism and seek restoration and regression invariably preach the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and honor Confucius. Therefore, we should continue to criticize Confucius. Criticizing Water Margin and capitulationists may go hand in hand with criticizing the reactionary Confucian ideology embellished in the book. This will help us distinguish between Marxism and revisionism, establish the proletarian world outlook, and transform the bourgeois world outlook.

The proletariat and the poor and lower-middle peasants want to continue the revolution. The revolutionary people, who account for the bulk of the population, want to continue the revolution. Only by emancipating the whole of mankind can the proletariat ultimately emancipate itself. For this reason, the proletariat looks on the seizure of political power and the founding of its dictatorship as only the first step in a Long March of 10,000 li; the march must be continued. The Party is the vanguard of the proletariat. The vast numbers of our Party members, particularly senior cadres, must apply to themselves the same criteria applied to the proletarian advanced elements. As for those comrades who have made mistakes, we should stick to the policy of learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient. We should strive to unite more than 95 percent of the cadres and masses. Class struggle and the struggle between the two lines are the powerful motive force for us to develop the work in all fields; they are also the powerful motive force for us to do a good job in the study of theory. By linking study with the current great debate, by holding fast to class struggle as the key link to study, and by applying what we have learned in the course of struggle, we will be able to deepen our study in a more practical manner. Further efforts made by the whole Party and the people of the whole country to study more the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat will give a tremendous impetus to our socialist revolution and socialist revolution and to the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country.

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Eclecticism Is Revisionism

by

Chi P'ing (紀 平)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 2, Feb. 1, 1976)

Waging a struggle against revisionism within the Party, Chairman Mao has levelled sharp criticism at eclecticism which puts politics on a par with economics and with vocational work. He points out: "Let's all be alert against people who do not believe in the principle of giving prominence to politics, who openly comply with but privately violate this principle and who themselves spread ideas of eclecticism (that is, opportunism)."

The Right-deviating wind to reverse previous verdicts struck up in educational circles some time ago is aimed at using eclecticism to put politics on a par with economics and vocational work. It is intended to negate Marxist theory on class struggle and oppose taking class struggle as the key link and putting proletarian politics in command. It is diametrically opposed to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Above all, it is revisionist trash.

Recently Chairman Mao taught us: "Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it." This instruction upholds the two-point theory of materialist dialectics, clearly elucidating the dialectical relationship between class struggle and all other tasks during the period of socialism and forcefully repudiating eclecticism which negates or revises the principle of taking class struggle as the key link. Materialist dialectics holds that everything possesses two contradictory aspects and that it is necessary to look a problem from the viewpoint of one dividing into two and in its entirety. However, this two-point theory is by no means a theory of equilibrium giving equal treatment to two contradictory aspects of matter. It calls for concretely distinguishing between what is primary and what is secondary, and between the dominating and the dominated aspects. Those who stirred up the Right-deviating wind to reverse previous verdicts, by putting politics on a par with economics and with vocational and technical work, do nothing but secretly replace dialectics with eclecticism. They equate the principal and secondary contradictions and the principal and secondary aspects of a contradiction, thereby stealthily casting aside the key link, class struggle, negating the Party's basic line and vainly attempting to lead people astray.

The aim of those who stirred up the Right-deviating wind is to negate the principal contradiction, i.e., between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, advertise the "theory of dying out of class struggle" and the "theory of productive forces," and oppose the Party's basic line. Viewing the socialist society in terms of the law of the unity of opposites, Chairman Mao clearly points out: "Class contradiction, the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road exist throughout the transitional period. We shall go astray if we forget this fundamental theory and practice of our Party over the last dozen years or so." Chairman Mao's teaching shows

us that the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is the principal contradiction during the period of socialism. It regulates and influences other contradictions in society. Only when we grasp this principal contradiction, persist in taking class struggle as the key link and adhere to the Party's basic line can we work successfully in all fields. If we depart from the key link, class struggle, we cannot possibly achieve stability and unity nor develop our national economy along the socialist direction. Judging by materialist dialectics, the relationship of the unity of opposites between the key link and everything else that hinges on it is not only shown to be one of interconnection and mutual restraint, but also reflects the role of the key link in commanding everything else that hinges on it. Only when the key link is grasped will everything else fall into place. Of this pair of opposites, politics and economics, politics and vocational and technical work, the former is the principal contradictory aspect. "Not to have a correct political point of view is like having no soul." Likewise, deleting proletarian politics is like deleting the soul. Loss of soul will lead to a loss of direction and to a dead-end at every turn. Practical struggle shows that, although the great proletarian cultural revolution has won a great victory, class struggle in the political, economic, ideological and cultural fields remains protracted, complicated and at times even very acute. At present, the main danger is revisionism. Only by putting proletarian politics in command and constantly striving to criticize revisionism and capitalism can we carry forward and develop the cause of socialist construction and various other undertakings.

Whether or not we can persist in taking class struggle as the key link is a question of whether we practice Marxism or revisionism. Those in the educational and scientific and technological circles who stirred up the Right-deviating wind to reverse previous verdicts time and again talk about this and that aspect of contradiction. Basically, however, they are silent about the principal contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, taking class struggle as the key link and viewing revisionism as the main danger today.

For example, with regard to the question of the relationship between politics and vocational work and between politics and technology, they say that, on the one hand, "it is wrong" not to criticize the disposition to disregard politics, and, on the other, "it is also wrong" not to study culture or delve into science and technology. On the question of integrating education and scientific and technological activities with productive labor, they say that, on the one hand, "it is wrong" to divorce oneself from practice, and, on the other, "it is also wrong" to ignore basic theoretical study and research. With regard to the question of integrating scientific and technological personnel with the masses of workers and peasants, they say that, on the one hand, "it is wrong" not to integrate oneself with the workers and peasants, and, on the other, "it is also wrong" not to develop the role of experts. When it comes to the question of the relationship between Marxist philosophy and natural science, they say that, on the one hand, "it is wrong" to think that philosophy does not serve as a guide to natural science, and, on the other, "it is also wrong" to assume that specific scientific problems can be solved by the simple application of general philosophical principles. On a series of questions, they draw no distinction between the first and the second, between the primary and the secondary and between the mainstream and its tributaries. Playing

these tricks, they are like snakes crawling between this and that side; they appear to be all-round and impartial, inclining to neither side and entertaining no tendentiousness. In essence, their tendentiousness is very clearcut. "Judging from the philosophical origin of this phenomenon, it is the use of eclecticism and sophistry to replace dialectics." "Judging from political practice, it is submission to the opportunists and, in the final analysis, to the bourgeoisie." In reality, they take the "side" of the bourgeoisie and launch attacks against the "side" of the proletariat. Confusing right with wrong and calling black white, they deny proletarian politics its commanding role, slander the excellent situation since the great cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, and oppose Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. They conceal their real viewpoint. They have all along wanted to practice the revisionist line in education and in scientific research and yearned for domination by bourgeois intellectuals, but they dare not say so directly. They have all along wanted to oppose and strangle the new socialist things of open-door education and open-door scientific research, yet they pretend to criticize the shortcomings in them. They have all along been enthusiastic about studying behind closed doors, but they are forced to speak in favor of linking study with reality and integrating with workers and peasants, in order to disguise themselves. They have all along been dissatisfied with the great cultural revolution and wanted to settle scores with it and reverse the previous verdict on it, but they mumble and dare not tell the truth. This reveals that what they mean by this and that side is nothing but an expression of eclectic sophistry. Lu Hsün said: "If a man still has conscience, he had better tell the truth. Otherwise, although he mumbles, an astute observer will see which party he 'sides with' secretly. And what he reveals will be only his treachery and meanness." Hitting the nail on the head, these words expose eclecticism for what it is.

The appearance of eclecticism is not accidental but has its profound class origin. In the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, eclecticism reflects and represents the will and interests of the bourgeoisie. It has all along been used by the revisionists as a means of struggle to oppose the proletarian revolution and Marxism. Our teachers of proletarian revolution have never missed the criticism of eclecticism. When Proudhon attempted to reconcile contradictions, Marx criticized him as "spinning, struggling and bouncing between the two sides of a category." When Lenin struggled against Trotsky's revisionism, Bukharin put Lenin's "political" views of a problem on a par with Trotsky's "economic" views, saying that "both principles are correct, and it is also correct to combine them." Criticizing this concept, Lenin pointed out: "'Now again, this and that,' 'on the one hand and the other'--such is Bukharin's theoretical stand. Such is eclecticism." In the course of the line struggle within our Party, Chairman Mao has also attached great importance to criticism of eclecticism. The moment eclecticism reared its head, Chairman Mao warned the whole Party to be vigilant and to expose and criticize its reactionary nature. In the present struggle to hit back at the Right-deviating wind to reverse previous verdicts, it is imperative to criticize eclecticism in accordance with the tenets of our revolutionary teachers.

"When Marxism is converted into opportunism, passing off eclecticism for dialectics is the easiest way to cheat the masses." Both past and present struggles between Marxism and revisionism tell us that, with the development and change in the situation of struggle, there are constant and

repeated instances where eclecticism is passed off for dialectics. Having gone through the great proletarian cultural revolution, the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, and the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the vast numbers of cadres and masses have heightened their awareness of continuing the revolution. The victorious fruits of the great cultural revolution have been further consolidated and developed. New socialist things have emerged one after another. In this excellent situation, it is difficult for those who stirred up the Right-deviating wind to reverse previous verdicts to openly oppose taking class struggle as the key link and blatantly restore the revisionist system. So they often resort to ambivalent, specious and elusive things to deceive the masses and turn back the wheel of history. In our own ranks some comrades do not seriously study Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works and fail to arm themselves with the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, with the result that in the sharp and complicated class and line struggles, they often show the vacillating nature of the petty bourgeoisie. Although they pay lip service to the need to grasp class struggle, they are always afraid that if they spend too much time on this matter their vocational work would be affected. Although they acknowledge the necessity of making revolution in education and of reform in scientific research, they always feel that the change is excessive and the pace too quick. It is these flabby and vacillating people who are most easily deceived by eclecticism, and it is these people who will most likely chime in with absurd eclectic arguments in thinking or even follow the arguments in action. Therefore, it is extremely necessary to expose and criticize the reactionary and deceptive nature of eclecticism so that people can distinguish clearly between materialist dialectics and eclecticism and between Marxism and revisionism and thus become more indomitable ideologically and politically.

Chairman Mao says: "One of the current important tasks on the ideological front is to unfold criticism of revisionism." The main danger on the ideological front is revisionism. Eclecticism is an expression of revisionism. Criticism of revisionism, including criticism of eclecticism, and hitting back at the Right-deviating wind to reverse previous verdicts is a class struggle to defend the Party's basic line, consolidate and develop the fruits of the great proletarian cultural revolution, and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. Each and every communist and revolutionary comrade should plunge into this struggle with a clear-cut stand. In close connection with the reality of the current struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines, we should conscientiously study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and Marxist philosophy and elevate our own political and ideological level. In whatever work we do, we should firmly grasp class struggle as the key link, resolutely implement the Party's basic line, and see to it that new heights are scaled in all our undertakings.

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The Doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and Capitulationism

- The creative idea of Water Margin as seen from Anecdotes of Hsüan Ho

by

Shih Chung (史 众)

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Chairman Mao teaches us: "The merit of the book Water Margin lies precisely in its portrayal of capitulation. It serves as good teaching material by negative example to help all people recognize capitulationists." However, for a long time, many articles which praised it crowned it with the saying that it originated from popular literature, concentrating the "talent and wisdom of the people," summing up the "ideas and aspirations of the people," and so on and so forth. For this reason, they did their best to upgrade Anecdotes of Hsüan Ho with which Water Margin was intimately connected, describing the former as a "gem" of popular literature.

What kind of book was Anecdotes of Hsüan Ho? And what creative idea did Water Margin inherit from it? If we make an analysis from the Marxist class viewpoint, it is not difficult to see that the above theory is contrary to facts. Far from coming from among the people or expressing the ideas of the people, it was a book of the feudal ruling class, and what it preached was the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and capitulationism. A look at its origin alone will put the matter in proper perspective.

Anecdotes of Hsüan Ho was completed in the last year of Southern Sung, and it might have been supplemented in the time of Yüan. It was a hodgepodge of selections from old books by the people of Sung. In his Outline History of Chinese Fiction Lu Hsün pointed out: Anecdotes of Hsüan Ho "was produced by the author with fragments from ancient books and supplemented by fiction." He also stated: "The book was divided into two parts, beginning with a description of the periods of Yao and Shun and ending with the establishment of his capital by Kao Tsung in Lin-an. Dealing with events in a chronological order, it was quite like a history in genre. However, the book was a collection of sections from other books which were uncoordinated. So it was rather inconsistent in literary style." What books did it plagiarize? Anecdotes of Hsüan Ho, Part I was taken for the most part from Ch'en Chün's Summary of Chronological Records of the Imperial Dynasty, Li T'ao's Sequel to Tzu-chih-t'ung-chien /General Outline History of China/[1] and Shao Po-wen's Shao's Eye-witness Accounts as well as from Chao Yü-shih's Pin-t'ui-lu and Lü Chung's Lectures on Major Events of the Imperial Dynasty. Anecdotes of Hsüan Ho, Part II, apart from taking its material from Li T'ao's Sequel to Tzu-chih-t'ung-chien, was devoted, among other things, to the description of the entry of the Chin troops into the capital, the capture of Hui Tsung and Ch'in Tsung and their northward journeys and the establishment of the capital by Kao Tsung in Lin-an, with most of its chapters taken from

Events Leading to the Fall of Southern Sung, Records of Private Grievance and its sequel. Some were copied word by word, some were extracts, and in some cases the classical language was changed into the vernacular. The above-mentioned books were history books or notebooks written by the feudal men of letters during Southern Sung, the majority being written under the ideological guidance and influence of the Sung Confucianists and Taoists. For instance, Anecdotes of Hsüan Ho had a section attacking Wang An-shih with the following absurd story: When Shao Yung heard the twittering of the cuckoos on the Tientsin Bridge in Loyang, he was suddenly seized with a sense of sorrow and predicted: "In less than two years the imperial court would employ a man of the south to be the prime minister and there would be changes. From then on, chaos will prevail under heaven." This was a fallacy of "knowing the significant events by seeing the insignificant ones." Not long afterward, Wang An-shih became prime minister and introduced his political reform. Then the book said: Wang Fang, son of Wang An-shih, died when he was only 33. In a dream Wang An-shih saw his son wearing a yoke and telling him: "Now your sin is visited upon me!" Such instances of vicious slander can be found in Shao's Eye-witness Accounts. Shao Po-wen, author of this notebook, was the son of Shao Yung, and both the father and the son were Taoists and maintained extremely close relations with Ssuma Kuang and his gang. The notorious essay "On Distinguishing Treachery" originated from this notebook. For another instance, as the main source of material for Anecdotes of Hsüan Ho, Summary of Chronological Records of the Imperial Dynasty was once relished by Sung Li Tsung who believed in Taoism, who ordered this book to be an official history book and the author be appointed an official. All of these books were out-and-out works which honored the Confucian school, opposed the Legalist school and trumpeted the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and capitulationism, and were in no way popular legends.

In its approach to peasant uprisings, Anecdotes of Hsüan Ho fully revealed its reactionary Confucian stand. In the book, the section on Sung Chiang accepting the offer of enlistment and amnesty and setting out to fight Fang La came from such books as Brief Outline of Events in the Eastern Capital, Summary of Ten Reigns of Sung Dynasty and Records of the Northern Alliance of Three Reigns. All were official books written by Confucian disciples. To be sure, in Anecdotes of Hsüan Ho the story about Liangshan Po was also based on some material from popular legends, from what was called "street talks." However, its selection of and tampering with stories of peasant uprisings were carried out under the ideological guidance of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. Insofar as it affirmed the capitulationist Sung Chiang and sang the praises of his capitulationist line, it was a collection of feudal dross and was a great insult to the Liangshan peasant insurgent army. As for the case of Fang La's uprising, the story was entirely based on Ch'en Chün's Summary of Chronological Records of the Imperial Dynasty and Li T'ao's Sequel to Tzu-chih-t'ung-chien, and it did not have the slightest popular flavor! However, popular legends which truthfully reflected the peasant revolutionary stand, namely, the large number of popular stories eulogizing Ch'ao Kai, Li K'uei, Wu Yung, the three Juan brothers and other revolutionaries and which exposed Sung Chiang and opposed the capitulationists, were all excluded from Anecdotes of Hsüan Ho.

Anecdotes of Hsüan Ho, Part I also contained a story about Sung Hui Tsung and his favorite courtesian Li Shih-shih. The story was different in style from those parts taken from history books and notebooks in that it took the form of dialoque. It, too, should be subject to concrete analysis. The story about Sung Hui Tsung and Li Shih-shih was not recorded in any detail in history books. During Southern Sung there appeared a legendary novel called Legendary Story of Li Shih-shih, and some notebooks such as Kuei-erh-chi also carried stories about Sung Hui Tsung and Li Shih-shih. It can be seen that stories of this type were already in circulation at that time. In Anecdotes of Hsüan Ho, the story about Sung Hui Tsung and Li Shih-shih was obviously a polished version of similar stories which were then in circulation, bearing in mind the main theme it wanted to express. The book described how Kao Ch'iu and Yang Chien induced Hui Tsung to indulge in worldly pleasures, so before the narration of the story it was clearly hinted: "Had the sovereign not been deceived by treacherous ministers, how could the Chin troops enter Pienching, the capital?" Obviously, the intent was to absolve the emperor of his crime of treason on the grounds that "the sovereign was deceived by his treacherous ministers." As a result, this story which was originally intended to expose Sung Hui Tsung's ignorance and decadent life was turned into something quite useful to the feudal rulers.

Although Anecdotes of Hsüan Ho was a hodgepodge, its guiding idea was nevertheless very clear. It was taken from the Ch'eng-Chu school of rationalism following the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. It advocated revering Confucianism and opposing the Legalist school and preached the capitulationism of opposing corrupt officials only but not the emperor. The feudal dross collected in the book was precisely intended to present such reactionary political thoughts. Water Margin not only drew its outline of the Liangshan Po story from Anecdotes of Hsüan Ho, but, what is even more important, inherited its reactionary guiding idea.

The reactionary ruling clique of the Sung Dynasty yielded and surrendered to the Nuchen aristocrats but intensified its exploitation and oppression of the masses of the people. The class struggle was exceptionally fierce, and peasant uprisings arose wave after wave. Faced with the flames of peasant revolution, the reactionary rulers, while making use of the counter-revolutionary dual tactics of armed suppression and "offering enlistment and amnesty," intensified ideological control. Chu Hsi, the top representative figure of the Ch'eng-Chu school of rationalism, called for "preserving the Heavenly principles and doing away with human desires" with a view to stamping out the raging flames of peasant uprisings. By the last year of Southern Sung, the Ch'eng-Chu rationalism became the dominating ideology. As Lu Hsün once said, "Almost without exception, scholars in the Sung Dynasty discussed Taoism and rationalism and revered Confucius. Although there were several reformers such as Wang An-shih, the reform failed in the absence of general approval. Since then everyone sang the old tune again, the old tune that had nothing to do with society, until the Sung Dynasty perished."(2) The tune sung in Anecdotes of Hsüan Ho was the old tune of honoring Confucianism and opposing the Legalist school, and in definitive terms the book discussed the so-called "Heavenly principles" and "human desires." At the same time, it brought out the Taoist Shao Yung, and, citing a poem of his, alleged nonsensically that "war has never been the policy to settle disputes since

ancient times, and the Central Plains can be governed only by benevolence and righteousness," thereby vigorously publicizing the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. The book also stated: "Peace prevails when the emperor is served by sage-philosophers, and chaos when he is served by treacherous ministers." Thus it directed the spearhead at Wang An-shih, who honored Legalism and opposed the Confucian school, attributed the fall of Northern Sung to Wang's political reform, and attacked Wang for "deceiving the emperor and ruining the country, a crime of serious nature." On the other hand, it extolled Ssuma Kuang, the representative character of the Confucian school, describing him as "straight, honest and good." Then, it attacked Ts'ai Ching as a so-called "Legalist" and, linking him with Wang An-shih, alleged that "the maladministration and eventually fall of the Sung Dynasty could be traced to Wang An-shih's reform which stemed from the ideas of his son-in-father Ts'ai Pien and Ts'ai's father Ts'ai Ching." In fact, Ts'ai Ching was a Confucian, a double-dealer. In his early years he wormed his way into the reformist faction. During the period of Yüan Yu, when Ssuma Kuang got control of power, he (Ts'ai Ching) turned around and energetically opposed the new laws, thereby winning the praise of Ssuma Kuang. Later, he engaged in large-scale honoring-Confucius activities and, while hoisting the sign-board of the new laws, opposed them in fact. In his Brief Study of the Chronological Records of Wang Ching-kung, Ts'ai Shang-hsiang quoted an unnamed person as saying: "It is pure speculation to attribute the defeat and chaos to Ching-kung /Wang An-shih/. In fact, the disasters that befell Hui Tsung and Ch'in Tsung were owed to Ts'ai Ching and to Wen-kung (namely, Ssuma Kuang) who used him."(3) The real purpose of Anecdotes of Hsüan Ho in twisting history was to advocate the "theory that the Legalists caused the fall of the state." In their eyes, the Legalists were "evil ministers." Chu Hsi, for one, clamored: "Now as in the past, the way to curb confusion and restore order is to invite virtuous men into government and dismiss the mean men."(4) He condemned Wang An-shih's reform as "willful and against reason," "confusing the country and ruining the court."(5) Anecdotes of Hsüan Ho was written on the basis of the score of the rationalists in honoring the Confucian school and opposing the Legalist school.

The author of Anecdotes of Hsüan Ho preached the Ch'eng-Chu school of rationalism from the reactionary landlord class stand for the explicit purpose of poisoning the minds of the people with the Confucian idea of "showing loyalty to the emperor" so as to lead the people onto the capitulationist road of opposing corrupt officials only and not the emperor. The book described the emperors of the Sung Dynasty as incarnations of gods from Heaven, thereby personifying the idea that "the authority of the sovereign is bestowed by God." At the same time, it went all out to spread sympathy for the two emperors Hui Tsung and Ch'in Tsung. It divided emperors into "enlightened rulers" and "benighted rulers," praising the former and counselling the latter, in both cases for the purpose of showing loyalty to the emperor. It held the belief that the reason why "benighted rulers" were benighted was because they were deceived by "evil ministers." So, it opposed only "evil ministers" while expressing deep sympathy for "benighted rulers." Hui Tsung and Ch'in Tsung were extremely decadent emperors; they were also the biggest capitulationists promoting national capitulationism. They knew only how to cede territory in search of peace and finally prostrated themselves before the Chin troops offering the instruments of surrender. However,

Anecdotes of Hsüan Ho sang the funeral dirges for them and pathetically described at length how they were captured and forced to go north. It also told of how the common people lined the roads offering them food to express their "love and respect" for them. What was the intention of all this? The intent was very clear: to arouse people's sympathy for the emperor. This was precisely an expression of the capitulationist idea of opposing corrupt officials only and not the emperor, an attempt to ask people to be forever "loyal ministers" and "slaves" to the emperor to order to defend the feudal order as a whole.

It was under the guidance of this thought that Anecdotes of Hsüan Ho selected and rigged up the story of Liangshan Po. In that story the Heavenly Book held by the Goddess of the Ninth Heaven appeared for the first time. The "Heavenly Book" contained a list of the names of 36 persons, and an "edict" providing: "Heaven hereby appoints 36 fierce generals, with Sung Chiang, the protector of justice, as the chief commander. They are to practice loyalty and justice everywhere and wipe out evil and treachery." From then on, Sung Chiang became a leader appointed by Heaven, and "practicing loyalty and justice everywhere and stamping out evil and treachery" became his capitulationist program. In addition, Anecdotes of Hsüan Ho affirmed the plot in which Sung Chiang was made a governor in recognition of his merit in accepting the offer of enlistment and amnesty and killing Fang La. A poem in the book read: "The country was in peril owing to revolts on the mountains. The revolts were put down. He became a general overnight and spread his name across the seas." This was lavish praise of the capitulationist line. When Sung Chiang pushed the capitulationist line, accepted the emperor's offer of enlistment and amnesty and played a falcon of the feudal ruling class to suppress other peasant insurgent armies, he meant to "practice loyalty and justice everywhere," and all this, further more, had been arranged by the will of Heaven. The Confucian "concept of Heavenly will" and "concept of loyalty and justice" closely combined to form the theoretical foundation of the capitulationist line. Under the guidance of this reactionary ideology, Fang La, who persisted in the line of peasant uprisings, was portrayed as the villain and called the "bandit." He was smeared as an "arsonist and plunderer" and attacked for his "aspiration to being an emperor," and he was finally "executed." By way of such contrast, further praise was heaped on Sung Chiang's capitulationist line. The tentative outline of the story of Water Margin in the Anecdotes of Hsüan Ho later became the basic element of the capitalist line lauded in the novel Water Margin.

Water Margin, completed in late Yüan and early Ming, met the political needs of the reactionary landlord class. It inherited the capitulationist viruses from Anecdotes of Hsüan Ho and developed them. Echoing each other, the novel in its "introduction" brought out the "famous Confucian" Shao Yung and cited one of his poems in proclaiming that since ancient times order and disorder, rise and fall, were pre-determined by "Heaven." Absorbing the plot about the Heavenly Book held by the Goddess of the Ninth Heaven from Anecdotes of Hsüan Ho, the novel hoisted the banner of "carrying out the wish of Heaven" and regarded this as a capitulationist program for opposing corrupt officials only and not the emperor. What was meant by "carrying out the wish of Heaven" was that "three bonds and five constant virtues" were to be promoted and practiced according to the will of

"Heaven," so that all might be loyal and serve the emperor and defend the reactionary rule of the landlord class. Its basic gist consisted in "loyalty and justice." In Water Margin, the Confucian "concept of Heavenly will" and "concept of loyalty and justice" permeated the whole novel as the guiding idea of creation, found their expression in the contradictions and conflicts depicted in the novel, and were reflected in characterization. In the novel, peasant uprisings were distorted as struggles between "loyalty and justice" and "evil and treachery." Sung Chiang was projected as the personification of "loyalty and justice." The author praised Sung Chiang as the "loyal and just Sung Kung-ming." Even on his death-bed, he was heard crying: "I'm loyal, I won't betray the court." This image of Sung Chiang was already seen as that of a capitulationist in Anecdotes of Hsüan Ho, and what the author of Water Margin did was to laud this capitulationist to the skies. It therefore follows that the basic tune of the capitulationist line of opposing corrupt officials only and not the emperor as laid down in Anecdotes of Hsüan Ho had its vicious development in Water Margin.

Obviously, Anecdotes of Hsüan Ho was a book of the feudal ruling class, and what Water Margin inherited from it was nothing but feudal dross such as the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. And yet there were people who, in order to boost the standing of Water Margin, covered up its general capitulationist disposition and did not scruple to distort historical facts and laud Anecdotes of Hsüan Ho as a piece of popular literature. The first man to resort to these tactics was Hu Shih, the man of letters of the comprador-bourgeoisie.

In his verifications of Water Margin, Hu "verified" that Anecdotes of Hsüan Ho was a popular work for the reason that the work used the vernacular language, had the special feature of a play, and some of its stories originated from folklores. So, Hu Shih conferred on it the title of "pioneer of 'serial novels'"[6] in China with the object of upgrading Water Margin. According to Hu's reasoning, just as Anecdotes of Hsüan Ho was "an epitome of the Water Margin story,"[7] so, Water Margin, developed on this basis, certainly became a representative piece of "popular literature." In this way, the signboard of "popular literature" became a fig leaf covering up capitulationism preached in Water Margin. In past commentaries on the novel, many people also described Anecdotes of Hsüan Ho as a work of popular literature on the grounds that it contained a story about Sung Chiang and applied the form of dialogue--in order to prove the so-called profound "popular character" of Water Margin. Therefore, it follows that the influence of this fallacy of Hu Shih's was very deep indeed, and must be eliminated totally in our criticisms of Water Margin.

To judge whether a literary work is a popular work, we must not only look at its form but also at its content, and we must see the ideas, sentiments and aspirations of which class it represents, and whether it has democratic essence. To see only the form but not the content, and to label it "popular literature" and praise it because it uses the vernacular language and has the features of dialogue and some of its materials comes from folklores, is to follow the formalistic viewpoint. Such a formalistic viewpoint will surely lead to obliterating the class content of a literary work and confusing the line of distinction between the democratic essence giving expression to the aspirations of the laboring people and the feudal dross reflecting the

ideology of the reactionary ruling class, with the result that a reactionary work disguised in popular form can deceive the masses. Hu Shih, the reactionary man of letters, was an old hand in playing these tricks. Proclaiming his admiration for popular literature, he brought out some plays and novels while deliberately refraining from discussing their reactionary ideological content. For instance, he praised the play The Ugly Prime Minister, which honored Confucianism and opposed the Legalist school, saying that "its ingenious way of cursing people becomes an art."(8) He praised Seven Knights and Five Gallant Men, a novel which publicized the slavish philosophy, as a work of "exciting language."(9) He lauded Heroic Legends of Sons and Daughters, a novel which advocated loyalty, filial piety, chastity and righteousness, saying that "it is distinguished by its vivid language, elegant style, wits and sense of humor."(10) By hoisting the banner of promoting popular literature, Hu Shih thus sold dog's meat while hanging out a sheep's head, peddling those literary works of the reactionary and decadent feudal class, exerting an adverse and dangerous influence.

Chairman Mao points out: "It is imperative to separate the fine old culture of the people which had a more or less democratic and revolutionary character from all the decadence of the old feudal ruling class." The reactionary ruling class, apart from suppressing popular literature and art, always resorted to all possible means to make use of popular literature and art. They often used popular literary and art forms to propagate reactionary and decadent ideas and turned these forms into instruments for poisoning the people. At the same time, in feudal society, owing to the harm and erosion of the landlord class ideology, even popular literature and art often had some unhealthy or even reactionary ideas. Therefore, we must also distinguish the democratic essence from the feudal dross in popular literature and art. In this respect, the struggle between two kinds of culture has all along been very acute. The reactionary ruling class often placed the dross in popular literature and art at its service. Certain materials in popular literature and art might also be tampered with by the reactionary ruling class and absorbed into its works and subordinated to the motif it wanted to express. Therefore, to label as "popular literature" such bad works as Anecdotes of Hsüan Ho and Water Margin because they use the vernacular language and have the special features of plays is to run entirely counter to the Marxist-Leninist class viewpoint and method of class analysis. In criticizing Water Margin, we must firmly take class struggle as the key link, uphold the Party's basic line, thoroughly criticize the landlord-bourgeois theories of human nature of all shapes and colors, the theory of class reconciliation and the theory of the dying out of class struggle as well as the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and capitulationism. We must combat and prevent revisionism and strengthen overall proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure.

Notes:

(1) Also known as Sequel to Tzu-chih-t'ung-chien in the Chronology of Sung Events. It was said that the book was written by Liu Shih-chü of Southern Sung, who adopted the name of Li T'ao.

(2) Complete Works of Lu Hsün, Vol. 7, p. 423.

(3) Brief Study of the Chronological Records of Wang Ching-kung, Vol. 24.

(4) Master Chu's Sayings, Vol. 13.

(5) Literary Collection of Chu Wen-kung: Read the Two Memorials

(6) Hu Shih's Cultural Heritage, Part 1, Vol. 1, p. 188.

(7) Ibid, Part I, Vol. 3, p. 92.

(8) Ibid, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 841.

(9) Ibid, Part II, Vol. 2, p. 171.

(10) Ibid, Part III, Vol. 3, p. 759.

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No Attempt To Reverse the Verdict on Revisionist Line in Education Is Permitted

by

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How to appraise education in the 17 years prior to the great cultural revolution is originally a clear-cut issue. Bearing in mind the situation in education on the eve of the great cultural revolution, Chairman Mao pointed out in his "May 7 directive": "The length of schooling should be shortened, education should be revolutionized, and the domination of our schools by bourgeois intellectuals should not be allowed to continue." This clearly shows that education at that time was bourgeois, not proletarian, in nature, and that schools were not tools of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but were tools of bourgeoisie dictatorship over the proletariat. Based on facts, Chairman Mao's correct appraisal of the old education prior to the great cultural revolution struck a cord in the hearts of the masses of people, and it was warmly supported by the proletariat and the working people. However, the bourgeoisie and its agents consistently tried to overthrow this correct conclusion. During the past decade, repeated struggles were waged between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the Marxist line and the revisionist line on this issue. As summer gave way to autumn last year, some people in the educational circles again stirred up a debate on this issue. They concocted all types of absurd arguments, vainly trying to prove that it was unnecessary to carry out a radical revolution in education and superfluous to lit up the flames of the great cultural revolution here.

But facts are there for all to see, and what they do is futile.

"The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." Those who concocted absurd arguments in the educational circles hysterically yell that "it is wrong to propose that we should work in opposition to the educational line of the 17 years." Then, in the "education of the 17 years" which they go all out to affirm, what kind of line held the dominating position? Education in the early days of the founding of the People's Republic was patterned after the semi-colonial, semi-feudal system taken over from Kuomintang reactionaries. Although principals of schools were changed and secretaries of Party committees were assigned, nothing was changed in respect to teachers, teaching structure, and content and methods of teaching. These remnants of the old superstructure had the effect of impeding and undermining the socialist economic base. Shortly after the founding of the PRC, Chairman Mao pointed out: based on the educational experience in the old liberated areas, we should "systematically and prudently carry out our work of transforming the old schools and educational system as well as the old social and cultural undertakings." However, Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang, who held power over education, opposed Chairman Mao's instructions, put forward the reactionary slogan "What is basic remains unchanged," and did not allow the educational system of the Kuomintang to be disturbed. They copied from and followed the Soviet practices in education, adding a large quantity of revisionist trash to

what was originally capitalist and feudal education. In 1957, Chairman Mao refuted the revisionist fallacies of Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang, doing so on the basis of the laws with regard to classes, class contradictions and class struggle in socialist society and in accordance with the requirements of developing the socialist economic base and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. He stipulated that "our educational policy must enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture." In 1958, Chairman Mao again pointed out: "Education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labor." In line with Chairman Mao's instructions, the revolutionary teachers and students, together with the worker and peasant masses, launched an educational revolution under the impact of the great leap forward. But no sooner had the revolution started than Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang poured cold water on it and suppressed it on charges of causing "chaos, a mess, and deviation." Then, they launched a full-scale counter-attack in revenge and further intensified bourgeois domination of education. As a result, such revisionist, sinister stuff as "management of schools by professors," "intellectual education comes first," "put vocational work in command" and "go to school in order to become an official" was further institutionalized, bourgeois rights were extended, and the training of intellectual aristocrats was further legalized and regularized. From 1962 up to the eve of the great cultural revolution, Chairman Mao again issued a series of instructions on the educational revolution and once again criticized the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i. He strongly condemned, "disapproved" and demanded a complete change in the old educational system for "undermining talent and undermining the youth." Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang, however, refused to implement Chairman Mao's instructions and continued to maintain bourgeois rule in schools by promoting the so-called "two kinds of educational system."

Taking a sweeping look at the struggle between the two lines on the education front over "17 years," we can see that although schools did change a little, there were no basic changes. What dominated there was a revisionist line. Thus, schools at that time remained places where the bourgeoisie exercised cultural dictatorship over the proletariat and the working people and where bourgeois intellectuals corrupted and poisoned young people with the bourgeois academic system, thinking and viewpoint. If we were not allowed to work in opposition to this reactionary line, should we work along with it? Obviously, if this state of affairs were to continue, not only would the working people be unable to achieve real emancipation in the field of culture, but they would lose their position as masters of their house in the political and economic sense along with the restoration of capitalism. This may be the aim of those who frenziedly oppose working in opposition to the revisionist educational line!

"Substantial achievements were also made in education before the great cultural revolution." This is an ode sung by those who concocted the absurd arguments in favor of the "17 years" revisionist line in education. What are those "substantial achievements"? In their view, students trained in old schools were high in quality, and today's university students "are not as good as past secondary technical college students both politically and vocationally." The question of quality of education has much to do with a given class and a given line. Different classes have different standards of quality. The aim of the revisionist educational line is to train and

cultivate intellectual aristocrats. But the proletarian educational line aims at training and cultivating workers with both socialist consciousness and culture. Old schools dominated by the revisionist line could never have the high quality of the proletariat. Take politics first. The revisionist educational line openly peddles the reactionary Confucian concept that "he who excels in learning becomes an official," and tries to instill ideas of bourgeois rights into students through different channels, so that from the very first day they enter the door of the school, students are stamped with the brand of "go to school in order to become an official" and seeking fame as a specialist. Thus poisoned, some students in the old Liaoning University swore that "they would achieve sensational fame even if it meant the last ounce of energy was squeezed from their bones." Politically, however, they sought only the "passable." But those who are content to stay in the mid-stream cannot do so, and those who try to "pass" often cannot pass. Some people vacillate or even head for reaction once they run into a severe storm. Can the political quality of such students compare with that of the worker-peasant-soldier students with socialist consciousness? Certainly not! This is also true of vocational work. In those days, some bourgeois scholars were "principal characters" in teaching. Since they divorced themselves from practice, they could only fill the minds of young people with outdated books and stereotypes which they learned from old schools. After studying for more than 10 years behind closed doors from primary to middle school to university those who studied philosophy did not know how to analyze contradictions; those who studied literature did not know how to write; those who studied history knew only how to remember the family records of emperors, kings, generals and ministers but did not know how to apply historical materialism to sum up historical experiences. Contrary to the estimation of those who dished out the absurd arguments, it is no exaggeration to say that, as far as these students' ideological level of Marxism-Leninism and ability to analyze and solve practical problems are concerned, many of them were below the level of today's "secondary technical students"! It is true that there was some change in the class composition of university students over "17 years" as the number of children of workers and peasants increased, especially after 1958. However, studying in such a school, as Lenin said, one "is subject to bourgeois enslavement rather than receives an education." Although the workers and peasants worked so hard to build schools, their children, after attending these schools, turned their back on them ideologically. We had long ago had enough of these "substantial achievements" of revisionist education, and they were nothing but historical lessons which pained the proletariat and the laboring people most. Yet today, those who dished up the absurd arguments are again talking volubly about these "achievements" and "high quality." Where do they want to "lead" our education? Isn't the answer very clear!

Of course, the majority or the overwhelming majority of students who graduated in the "17 years" are able to integrate with the workers, peasants and soldiers, with some credited with inventions and innovations. However, this is absolutely not the "merit" of old schools. They have made progress today and played a definite role in their fields of work for the most basic reason that after graduating from their schools, they have taken part in the practice of social struggle over a long time and have received

reeducation from the workers, peasants and soldiers under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. When they first graduated, many were weak physically and had no common language with the workers and peasants. After they took part in the three great revolutionary movements, they had to start from scratch in learning many things. The proletariat had to spend a long time and a lot of energy to help them transform their world outlook and thoughts and sentiments in order to make them integrate with and serve the workers and peasants. This not only does not show that "substantial achievements were also made in education before the great cultural revolution," but, on the contrary, it can only illustrate how the revisionist line in education hampered the healthy growth of the young people, adversely affected the building of a grand contingent of proletarian intellectuals, and seriously harmed the socialist revolution and construction. It is gratifying to see that today socialist universities are carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, that, nurtured by Mao Tsetung Thought, the worker-peasant-soldier students in universities are growing sturdily, that those who come from among the workers and peasants do not forget their origin, and that after graduation, they are able to integrate with workers and peasants and assume a bigger role in class struggle, in the struggle for production and scientific experiment. This is in sharp contrast to students in former days. Twelve of the worker-peasant-soldier students who graduated from Liaoning University in 1972 returned to the countryside to take up farming, to take the lead in narrowing the three major differences and in restricting bourgeois rights. They have established a new communist style. These 12 graduates have done remarkably well in building socialism and criticizing capitalism during the three great revolutionary movements in the rural areas. They have won the acclaim of the poor and lower-middle peasants. The profound changes which have taken place in schools since the great cultural revolution have fully shown that only by turning schools into instruments of the dictatorship of the proletarian can successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution be trained and brought up.

"The line adopted in the past might be wrong, but it does not necessarily mean that all methods used were wrong." This is one of the best known of the absurd arguments put forward. On the surface, it gives the impression that they admitted that their line was wrong. But the fact is not so. Marxism has always maintained that methods and line cannot be totally separated. Educational methods are always determined by, and serve, a given educational line. Above-class educational methods which are separated from a given class line as claimed by those who advanced absurd arguments in the educational circles have never existed. Prior to the great cultural revolution, which methods, from enrollment to job placement and from teaching to examination, were not dominated by and designed to serve the revisionist educational line at that time? University students were recruited directly from senior middle schools, and the success of the applicants depended on the marks they obtained. Wasn't it due to the use of these methods that revisionist education excluded vast numbers of children of workers and peasants from schools? The old teaching methods were founded on the theory of idealist transcendentalism and seriously divorced from class and production struggles and the workers and peasants. Students were confined to the classroom and books and studied scholastic philosophy. The methods of instruction stressed cramming, which kept students in a state of mental

tension all day long. The whole teaching process was lifeless and formalistic. All vital and healthy things were strangled. Students were led by the nose by the dead and foreigners as independent thinking and creative spirit were stifled. These teaching methods were handed down from Confucius more than two thousand years ago and taken over by the bourgeoisie for training and bringing up "five-mark, lamb-like" docile tools; they met the needs of the revisionist line. Now let us look at past examinations. Methods of dealing with the enemy were used to deal with the students as they were required to solve strange and unpopular problems and were subject to sudden attack. Examinations were as numerous as cattle's hair, the examination hall was like an execution ground, and the examiners were like judges. The fate of a student as to whether he had to repeat his class, whether he would be promoted to a higher class or graduate, was solely decided by his examination paper. As a consequence, students desperately struggled for those five marks. Some children of workers and peasants who failed to meet the set standards were driven out of schools. As for job placement, university graduates did not become workers, peasants and soldiers any more as they took the road of "going to school in order to become officials" and separated themselves from workers, peasants, and soldiers. This set of methods accorded with the revisionist line, which defended and widened the three major differences. To realize the proletarian revolution in education means to put an end to the domination of the revisionist educational line and to radically change the whole set of revisionist educational methods applied in the past. Chairman Mao pointed out: "Reforming the old educational system and the old teaching principles and methods is an extremely important task in the current great proletarian cultural revolution." Running counter to Chairman Mao's instruction, those who concocted the absurd arguments vainly attempt to resurrect the old methods one by one. Do they want to resurrect the revisionist educational line which dominated over "17 years"?

The vast numbers of revolutionary teachers and students and workers and peasants most deeply resent the old education of "17 years" as they were victims of it. Since the great cultural revolution, they have unfolded revolutionary mass criticism against the revisionist educational line in close relation to the two-class and two-line struggle in society. Marx once said that the proletariat had to "discover a new world in the course of criticizing the old one." The profound changes on the educational front where "past scenes are transformed" have taken place in the course of criticizing the old education of "17 years." Those who concocted the absurd arguments are the defenders of the "old world." They "eulogize the past" in order to "slight the present". They want to reverse the verdict on the educational front over "17 years." In short, they want to negate the entire revolution in education and then the great proletarian cultural revolution which was first started in education. They attempt to hold back the revolutionary torrent stirred up by the proletariat and the laboring people in building a socialist "new world." As Chairman Mao pointed out long ago, "Although some people bear the title of a communist, they show little or no interest in the socialist undertakings to be carried out at present. Instead of supporting the enthusiastic masses, they pour cold water no them." We should shout at these people: You must correct your mistakes and return to the correct line quickly!

The great debate on educational revolution is a very good thing. Education of the exploiting classes has continued for several thousand years, and the old traditional ideas and force of habits still entangle some people like a devil. That is why they disagree with the thorough negation of the old education of "17 years," and dislike new things of the revolution in education. This force of habit, however, cannot be overcome by administrative orders. Through this great debate, we must first powerfully hit back at the right-deviating wind to reverse previous verdicts and at the same time enable the masses to receive profound education on the struggle between the two classes and two lines, besides urging those who do not think clearly and dislike the things they see to further distinguish between right and wrong in line and more quickly break with old traditional ideas and the force of habit. This will push the educational revolution to greater depth. Of course the struggle remains a protracted one. However, no matter how tortuous the struggle may be, we are fully confident that as long as we act according to Chairman Mao's instructions and persist in the correct Marxist-Leninist line, a brand-new proletarian system of education will surely be established and consolidated step by step in the course of struggle.

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"Opposing Metaphysics" Is False, Negating the Educational Revolution Is Real

by

Mass Criticism Group of Wuhan University

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Some time ago, people in educational circles fanning up a Right-deviating wind to reverse previous verdicts juggled all kinds of deceitful tactics, including waving the banner of "opposing metaphysics" while attacking our implementation of Chairman Mao's proletarian educational line and policy for "talking about only one side and making no mention of the other." Do they really oppose metaphysics? Certainly not. Their weird theories are specimens of idealism and metaphysics which they go all out to promote. Their real aim is to negate the educational revolution.

The proletarian educational line laid down by Chairman Mao for our Party has not only comprehensively and penetratingly generalized the objective laws of the proletarian educational revolution during the period of socialism, but also reflected the pressing demands of the laboring people for complete cultural emancipation. In order to bring up successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause along this line of Chairman Mao's, we must persevere in "selecting students from among workers and peasants with practical experience, and after a few years' study letting them return to production." But the cookers of weird theories in the educational circles attack our implementing this instruction of Chairman Mao's as talking only about the "side" of turning out workers and peasants, and not the "side" of turning out cadres and technicians. Therefore, we are "one-sided."

Regarding the question of what kind of people schools should raise, different classes have different demands. The old schools of the 17 years before the great cultural revolution, dominated by bourgeois intellectuals, kept the multitude of workers, peasants and soldiers outside their doors and fostered aristocrats and revisionist seedlings for the restoration of capitalism. The great proletarian cultural revolution criticized this revisionist line, and demanded that schools open their doors to the workers, peasants and soldiers by selecting students from among them and sending them back upon graduation, thereby training and raising millions of successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause. However, those people presenting weird theories attack our raising millions of successors as a "one-sided" effort while making no reference to the objective of old schools to foster a minority of aristocrats. This shows nothing but their stubborn persistence in holding on to the prejudice of the exploiting class.

Proletarian cadres and technicians are servants of the people, and they should first of all be ordinary laborers. If they cannot or even refuse to become ordinary laborers, how can they become good cadres and technicians of the proletariat? Regarding oneself as one notch higher than ordinary laborers is precisely a traditional concept of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, a concept we must criticize today. But people holding those weird theories set becoming workers and peasants against

becoming cadres and technicians. In their view, by turning out workers and peasants, it will be impossible to turn out cadres and technicians, and therefore this is "not all-sided." Obviously, what they mean by "all-sided" is to use this side of "cadres and technicians" to negate that side of "workers and peasants", that is, to foster intellectual aristocrats divorced from the masses and haughtily staying above the workers and peasants.

Bringing up workers with both socialist consciousness and culture constitutes the objective of our Party's educational policy, a concrete embodiment of the Party's basic line in the educational realm. In class society, schools have always been instruments of class struggle since it has always been the imperative of every class to foster its own political successors. In accordance with the demands set forth by the Party's basic line, our schools should become instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Their basic task is to turn out revolutionary fighters to combat and prevent revisionism and to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat; it is to contribute to the restriction of bourgeois rights, the uprooting of the breeding ground of a bourgeoisie and revisionism, and the gradual narrowing of the three major differences. This is a profound revolution conducted against all former educational systems. It has drawn the fundamental line of distinction between the proletarian educational line and the revisionist one. Of universal significance, it applies to schools of all types and at all levels. But under the pretext of different schools possessing different characteristics, those advocators of weird theories attack our selecting students from among workers and peasants and sending them back to their midst on graduation as "one-sided." Does this not amount to saying that the Party's educational policy holds good for some schools and not for others? What difference is there between this and the bourgeois "two-tier educational system" pushed fanatically by Liu Shao-ch'i, or what Lin Piao had advocated in wanting schools to foster "outstanding students" with "five marks"? From here it can be seen that their attack on our being "one-sided" is but to negate universality and the Party's educational policy under the pretext of particularity, to alter the nature of socialist schools and turn them into instruments for restoring capitalism.

Before the great proletarian cultural revolution, ruled by the revisionist educational line, our school turned out only cadres and technicians, as not a single graduate became a worker or peasant. This was precisely the "side" those weird talkers accuse our educational revolution of lacking. But what was the situation then? Some children of workers and peasants did eventually make it to university only to be driven out of it on various pretexts. Some, poisoned by feudal, capitalist and revisionist ideas, changed their thinking and despised workers and peasants. With the advent of the great cultural revolution and guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian educational line, our school has since the fall of 1970 successively admitted nearly 5,000 worker-peasant-soldier students. Keeping in mind the wishes of their class, these students have assiduously studied Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works and made every effort to master skills to serve the people. When they are placed in jobs on graduation, they demand to become workers and peasants as they are determined to become promoters in restricting bourgeois rights and narrowing the three major differences. The more than 2,000 worker-peasant-soldier students who have now graduated are battling full of vigor and vitality in the frontline of the three

great revolutionary movements. Quite a number of them are not only workers and peasants, but cadres and technicians as well, enthusiastically serving the multitude of workers, peasants and soldiers and being warmly welcomed and praised as "university students of the laboring people, laborers who have gone to university." Faced with these facts, however, the advocators of weird theories still attack us for being "one-sided." If this is not an attempt to confuse right and wrong, and black and white, what else is it?

The question of whom to rise constitutes a fundamental aspect of the recurrent struggle waged between Chairman Mao's proletarian educational line and the revisionist educational line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, an essential issue involving turning schools into instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat or the bourgeoisie. In adhering firmly to the Party's educational policy and fostering workers with both socialist consciousness and culture, we have grasped precisely the main aspect of the principal contradiction, that is, the struggle between the two classes and the two lines on the educational front, the essence of the matter. In disregarding this essential aspect and talking through their hats about wanting "all-sidedness," it is nothing but an attempt on the part of people with strange notions to extend bourgeois rights, to forever maintain the differences between physical and mental labor, to let a handful of people monopolize science and culture, and to restore the rule of the revisionist educational line over schools. It can be seen that the dispute between us and the advocators of weird theories is essentially a fundamental difference between two divergent lines.

To implement the Party's educational policy and foster workers with both socialist consciousness and culture, we must take the road set by Chairman Mao's "May 7 Directive" and keep on running schools with an open door. However, people clinging to those weird theories attack us for "only opening the door but not running the school," and "not talking about study of culture," and therefore being "not all-sided." This is a malicious distortion of open-door education!

Chairman Mao points out: "All work of schools is for the purpose of transforming the students' thinking." "Young people must give first priority to cultivating a firm and correct political orientation." "Class struggle is one of your major subjects." The primary task of open-door education is precisely to transform the students' thinking and teach class struggle well as a major subject. If a socialist university student does not understand class struggle and is unable to make a distinction between right and wrong in line, how can he become a successor to the proletarian revolutionary cause? Only by running schools with an open door and letting students face the world and brave the storm in the three great revolutionary movements to learn from and serve the workers, peasants and soldiers can their consciousness of class and line struggles and of continuing the revolution be raised incessantly, and can they be trained into revolutionary fighters battling for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. If we only talk about "studying culture" and do not give first priority to transforming the students' thinking but cast away class struggle as a major subject, then we will run counter to Chairman Mao's proletarian educational line. In glibly emphasizing the "study of culture" and making no mention at

all of ideological revolutionization, the advocators of those weird theories are totally aiming at "putting intellectual education first," that is, putting bourgeois politics first. This is what they mean by "all-sided."

Our persistence in running schools with an open door by combining the small classrooms of our school with the big classroom of society is precisely for the purpose of making a better effort in studying socialist science and culture. In the course of open-door education, students free themselves from narrow circles of the campus and throw themselves into the heat of the mass struggle; this may boost their enthusiasm to study for the revolution and cause them to conscientiously undertake vocational studies, thereby unifying politics and vocational work and making every effort to serve proletarian politics. By directly taking part in the practice of the three great revolutionary movements, students will also be able to study in a vivid and lively manner, acquire knowledge about class struggle and the struggle for production which cannot be learned from books, keep raising their ability to analyze and solve problems and link theory with practice. May we ask: If the study of knowledge about class struggle and the struggle for production is not study of culture, then can it be that only the study of knowledge in old schools where "90 percent is useless and 10 percent is distorted" was study of culture? In the course of open-door education, we not only learn class struggle as a major subject, but also acquire real scientific and cultural knowledge. Can this be termed "not all-sided"?

Facts forcefully refute those weird theories. Since the great proletarian cultural revolution, both teachers and students in our school have followed Chairman Mao's instruction that "education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labor." Taking class struggle as the key link, they have carried open-door education into factories and the countryside, closely integrating education with the three great revolutionary movements. By taking part in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and in conjunction with the criticism of Water Margin, both teachers and students have revolutionized their thinking, greatly speeding up the process of transforming our school into an instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In recent years, teachers and students of the science departments, having set up links with factories (and communes), arranged their teaching and learning in connection with typical products and typical tasks. Conducting scientific research with worker-peasant technicians, they have successively completed more than 200 scientific research and technical innovation projects, and 169 research achievements have found practical application in relevant departments, with some filling certain blanks in one particular scientific and technological sector in our country and others attaining advanced national as well as international levels. Contributions have thus been made to socialist revolution and construction. In attacking open-door education as "not all-sided," the advocators of weird theories have resorted to subjective conjecture in total disregard of facts.

Lenin said: "One of the greatest evils the old society left us is the total disconnection of books from practical life." People still clearly remember what it was like in the old schools before the great cultural revolution. At that time, teachers and students were imprisoned in an ivory

tower, learning by rote, entangling themselves with rigid terms and concepts, prostrating themselves before the ancient, the dead and foreigners, and engaging in "purely academic" and "purely theoretical" type of "research." Many were so poisoned by feudal, capitalist and revisionist ideas as to become bookworms and "sick shells," and some even became "revisionist seedlings." In the light of such a situation, Chairman Mao sharply pointed out at one time: "The old educational system is destructive to the fostering of talent and detrimental to youth. I disapprove of it." However, those weird talkers cannot forget restoring those old schools which trampled the youth underfoot. It is obvious that in attacking open-door education as "not all-sided," they make a vain attempt to restore the dominance of the revisionist educational line in schools and continue to let the bourgeoisie exercise dictatorship over the proletariat on the school front.

Lenin once pointed out: "When Marxism is changed into opportunism, passing off eclecticism for dialectics is the easiest way to deceive the masses." And it is precisely eclectic tactics that the cookers of those weird theories in educational circles have used to deceive the masses. In terms of training objective, they have not only talked about "the side" of turning out cadres and technicians, but also about "the side" of turning out workers and peasants. The objective appears to be very "all-sided," but actually it is for fostering intellectual aristocrats and against fostering ordinary laborers. On the question of open-door education, they slander us for "only opening the door, but not running the school," as if they approved not only "opening the door" but also "running the school", which again sounds very "all-sided," but which actually is for studying behind closed doors and "putting intellectual education first" and against open-door education in order to eliminate proletarian politics. This is how they give the appearance of being "all-sided" and "fair and just" everywhere, and with an "all-sided" here and an "all-sided" there, "this side" and "that side," they attack us for being "one-sided" here and "one-sided" there, as if they alone were most "correct," everyone else going to extremes. In fact, they put the principal contradiction on a par with the secondary contradiction, the principal aspect of a contradiction with its secondary aspect without distinguishing between first and second, principal and secondary, the commanding and the subordinate. They replace the materialist-dialectical theory of priority with the metaphysical theory of equilibrium. They vainly attempt to use this to cover up the essence of matter, confuse the distinction between right and wrong in line, tamper with all aspects of the Party's educational line, principles and policies, negate the great results of the educational revolution, and reverse the verdict of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Using eclectic tricks to oppose the educational revolution is by no means a new invention of those cookers of weird theories; they are the same trick as those used by Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang to undermine the educational revolution in 1958. In that year, under the brilliant illumination of the Party's general line of socialist construction, the vast members of revolutionary teachers and students whipped up an educational revolution during which many new revolutionary things emerged and thrived vigorously. However, because Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang held the power in the educational sector, the revolution was nipped in the bud. Hoisting the banner of "correcting deviations," they opposed training workers with both socialist consciousness and culture, insisted on fostering what they called "high-class, sophisticated,

and top-notch" experts, and attacked the practice of many revolutionary teachers and students who left their classrooms for factories and villages as "disrupting the teaching order" and lowering the quality of teaching, etc. They made a fuss over a few trifles and side issues, taking revolutionary things for metaphysical ones, chopping down at one stroke a lot of new things on the educational front, and bringing back a whole set of revisionist merchandise. Subsequently, schools remained under the domination of bourgeois intellectuals.

With the great proletarian cultural revolution, the working class mounted the historical stage of struggle-criticism-transformation in the superstructure and recovered its leadership over the educational sector. Schools have since taken a new look. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, a great number of new socialist things have emerged on the educational front. But the advocators of weird theories in the educational circles again come up with the same round of mean tactics once used by Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang in an attempt to smother these new things and bring schools back onto the old road of revisionism. Therefore, a great debate on the educational revolution has inevitably unfolded. This great debate is a continuation of the protracted struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines in the educational circles. The essence of the struggle boils down to the question of whether proletariat exercises dictatorship over the bourgeoisie or vice versa in the realm of education. During this debate, we must take class struggle as the key link, adhere firmly to the Party's basic line, and make every effort to study Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat and thesis on the educational revolution. We must conscientiously summarize the historical experience gained in the educational revolution, make a further distinction between right and wrong in line, raise our ability to distinguish true Marxism from false, consciously implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, vigorously foster new socialist things, and win new victories for the proletarian educational revolution.

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Deeply Criticize the Fallacy That "He Who Excels in Learning Becomes an Official"

by

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Since the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius began, revolutionary teachers and students have conducted hard-hitting criticism of fallacies such as "he who excels in learning becomes an official" preached by the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and "go to school in order to become an official" advocated by Liu Shao-ch'i. However, the struggle has not come to an end. When a gust of Right-deviating wind to reverse previous verdicts blew in educational circles some time ago, these things again emerged in different forms. Therefore, in the current great debate on the revolution in education, it is still necessary for us to further criticize this kind of reactionary thinking.

"He who excels in learning becomes an official" generalizes in a concentrated way the educational thinking of Confucius in serving the declining slave-owning class. "Go to school in order to become an official" is a reproduction of "he who excels in learning becomes an official" in the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. For more than two thousand years, the exploiting class in successive generations regarded education as a tool for exercising dictatorship over the working people. They desperately advertised the reactionary idea that "he who excels in learning becomes an official" and instilled it into people in one way or another. This reactionary idea was the brain child of Confucius, apologist of the slave system. Throughout his life, he never forgot about becoming an official and "serving the government." When he could not get an official post in three months, he became "greatly upset." But once he rose to power, he revealed his ferocious features and had Shao Cheng Mao, forerunner of Legalists, executed on a trump-up charge. For thousands of years, Confucius' followers looked up to "he who excels in learning becomes an official" as an eternal, unalterable credo. To them, to go to school and not become an official was simply a great sin! In feudal society, a good many people who were so deeply influenced by it, so keen on seeking personal fame and wealth and so eager to hold power that they used the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius as "a brick to knock the door open," to knock open the door of "happiness." By so doing, they fell into Confucius' trap from which they could not extricate themselves. In order to obtain a government job, many staggered along the road of civil service examination and remembered nothing but the eight-legged essays. Failing to pass the examination, many felt frustrated all their lives and did nothing good. K'ung I-chi, a fictitious character under Mr. Lu Hsün's pen, was a marvelous typical example. Sticking to the tenet that "schooling is the highest calling of all," he wanted to seek a way out from books, dreaming of becoming famous one morning and enjoying all the riches and honors. Therefore, he disliked labor, led a hedonic life and ended up dead in the blind alley of "he who excels in learning becomes an official."

The wheel of history is ever rolling onward, but "the old score will continue to be played." Didn't Liu Shao-ch'i do his best to advocate "go to school in order to become an official"? He nonsensically said that one who had knowledge "can become a Party committee secretary, a factory director, a mayor, or a county magistrate" Lin Piao also viciously attacked such new socialist things as settling down in mountainous and rural areas in a vain attempt to extend bourgeois rights, enlarge the three major differences, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. Influenced by Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line, students in pre-cultural revolution schools regarded going to university as a ladder to climb upward, and thought that a university graduate could well remain in the city and work as a cadre. Hence, many young people belittled the workers and peasants, shunned the countryside, and loathed physical labor. Many children of poor and lower-middle peasants from the countryside, after they enrolled in schools dominated by bourgeois intellectuals, were "indigenous in the first year, foreign in the second, and could not recognize their parents in the third." Just as Lenin pointed out incisively, "In such schools, the younger generation of workers and peasants are not so much educated as drilled in the interests of the bourgeoisie." The poor and lower-middle peasants sent their children to schools in the hope that they would become good successors to the cause of the proletariat, but they became the sacrifices of the revisionist educational line. Greatly disappointed, the poor and lower-middle peasants said angrily: "It would have been better if we did not send our children to such schools! Graduates from these schools know only how to talk, cannot use their hands, and do not share the same views with us. We can't take that road any longer!" Severe criticism by the poor and lower-middle peasants and the many shocking facts make us see clearly the reactionary essence of such theories as "he who excels in learning becomes an official" and "go to school in order to become an official" practiced from Confucius to Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao.

"The scenery is especially good on this side." The great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, initiated and led by Chairman Mao personally, mercilessly washed away all vestiges left by the old society; they violently pounded at the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius like "he who excels in learning becomes an official." Chairman Mao's thinking on educational revolution has penetrated deeper into people's minds. Chairman Mao says: "Education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labor." "The laboring people should turn themselves into intellectuals and so should intellectuals into laborers." Moreover, he points out explicitly that the educational policy of the proletariat is to train young people into workers with both socialist consciousness and culture. It is precisely on this cardinal issue of strategic significance that Chaoyang Agricultural College has provided us with valuable experience. Chaoyang Agricultural College is a red banner in turning schools into tools for the dictatorship of the proletariat. It resolutely puts into practice Chairman Mao's thinking on the educational revolution, upholds the Party's basic line, uses the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a guide to run the school, oppose the feudal, bourgeois and revisionist educational systems, and turns out group after group of workers with both socialist consciousness and culture, thereby making contributions toward restricting bourgeois rights, gradually narrowing the three major

differences and consolidating and developing the socialist economic base. Take, for instance, Wang Kuei-pin, with whom we all are familiar. After acquiring real knowledge for solving problems in Chaoyang Agricultural College, he returned to his production team on graduation and has since made his positive contributions. At that time, some people picked him and offered him a job of 50-60 yuan a month as "adviser" in an agricultural station. But Wang simply ignored the offer. He said frankly: "I'm a graduate of Chaoyang Agricultural College. Students of Chaoyang have two dislikes: First, they dislike becoming officials, and second, they dislike making money!" How inspiring! How noble! He wants neither fame nor gain, nor position. He does not take his knowledge as private property nor regards himself as a commodity. Instead, he wholeheartedly strikes root in the countryside to make revolution and contributes his all to consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and developing the socialist economic base. We must seriously learn from the experience of Chaoyang Agricultural College, turn our school into a tool of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and strive to raise workers with both socialist consciousness and culture.

The torrents of the educational revolution are surging onward, but whirlpools and adverse currents are bound to appear. To negate the achievements of the educational revolution and to reverse the verdict on the revisionist educational line, those who advanced absurd arguments in educational circles again pick up the junk--"he who excels in learning becomes an official" in the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius--to attack the proletariat. There are such absurdities as "turning out workers and peasants means schools are abolished," "what is the point of running universities" if cadres and technicians were not trained. Do these people regard going to university as a means for obtaining high office and as the gateway to intellectual aristocracy? According to their logic, one who goes to university should not become a worker or peasant any more but should become an intellectual aristocrat lording it over workers and peasants. Otherwise, there will be no need to set up universities. Does this not barefacedly advertise the fallacy that "he who excels in learning becomes an official" in the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius?

New-type socialist universities must be run strictly in accordance with Chairman Mao's proletarian educational line. On July 21, 1968 Chairman Mao pointed out: "It is still necessary to have universities; here I refer mainly to colleges of science and engineering. However, it is essential to shorten the length of schooling, revolutionize education, put proletarian politics in command and take the road of the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant in training technicians from among the workers. Students should be selected from among workers and peasants with practical experience, and they should return to production after a few years' study." We feel our hearts warm when studying again this great teaching of Chairman Mao's! Chaoyang Agricultural College's experience of "come from the commune, back to the commune"--students come from among workers and peasants and go back to them--is a challenge to bourgeois rights. They rebel against the traditional concept of "going to school in order to become an official." They smash the ladder for climbing upward through the university. They erect a bridge to gradually narrowing the three major differences, and carry out to the letter Chairman Mao's

"July 21 Directive." We must follow Chairman Mao's instruction that "we Communists seek not official posts but revolution" and "wholeheartedly serve the people." We must firmly embrace the world outlook of the proletariat, thoroughly break with the traditional concept of "going to school in order to become an official," and inherit and carry forward the revolutionary spirit of seeking neither fame nor gain and of fearing neither hardship nor death displayed by our revolutionary martyrs. We must become staunch fighters dedicated to the struggle to combat and prevent revisionism and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The strong East wind of the proletarian educational revolution is sweeping through the great earth of the motherland, and a generation of new people are sturdily growing up to maturity under the nurture of Mao Tsetung Thought. However, class struggle has not come to an end, and the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines on the educational front will go on for a long time. Therefore, we must insist on taking class struggle as the key link, uphold the Party's basic line, and conscientiously study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must deeply criticize such reactionary fallacies as "he who excels in learning becomes an official" and "go to school in order to become an official" and the absurd arguments in educational circles. We must exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in this sphere of the superstructure, education, and struggle to eliminate the soil which breeds capitalism.

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Some Understanding on Unfolding the Great Debate on Educational Revolution

by

Party Branch of Nanning Municipal No. 2 Middle School, Kwangsi

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 2, Feb. 1, 1976)

The absurd arguments as part of the Right-deviating wind to reverse previous verdicts in educational circles arouse incomparable proletarian indignation on the part of revolutionary teachers and students in our school. We have organized all teachers, students and staff members to unfold a great debate on the educational revolution to hit back at the Right-deviating wind. After a period of practice, we understand that this struggle unfolded in the middle school is most timely and absolutely necessary.

To make a success of this movement, we must first make clear the guiding thought and the aim of the movement. This great debate is a major struggle to strengthen proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, with class struggle taken as a key link and the Party's basic line adhered to. On this point, our understanding deepened in a gradual process. At first, some comrades held that the great debate on educational revolution concerned universities and had little to do with middle schools. After repeatedly studying the expositions of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao on the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the educational revolution and after investigating the actual conditions of the struggle between the two classes, two lines and two ways of thinking in the school, we saw more clearly that the absurd arguments in educational circles not only affected universities but also affected middle schools in some ways. Influenced by this evil wind, some people opined that the middle school was supposed "to lay the foundation" for students and so should pay more attention to "intellectuals education," that middle school students did not know much and could not learn anything from open-door education, and that only by directly sending middle school graduates to universities was it possible to raise "good scientists." These erroneous ideas interfered with the firm implementation of Chairman Mao's proletarian educational line. Facts show that our struggle against the Right-deviating wind in educational circles has a bearing on the problem of orientation of the educational revolution as a whole. In the face of these major issues, if we do not make them clear in debate, the educational revolution in middle schools not only cannot advance but will even regress. As this struggle will enable both cadres and the masses to distinguish between right and wrong in line and raise their ability to combat and prevent revisionism, it is of vital far-reaching significance not only to adhering to Chairman Mao's educational line and pushing the educational revolution in middle schools ahead but also to consolidating and developing the great fruits of the great cultural revolution and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In this great debate, we resolutely carry out the spirit of the relevant directives issued by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. It is conducted in a planned manner with unified arrangements made by the Party branch under the leadership of the Party committee at a higher level.

Some people once were worried lest the great debate in middle schools might have an adverse effect on stability and unity and upset the established teaching program. To counter this way of thinking, our Party branch promptly organized teachers and students one after the other to study the relevant documents of the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao's teaching about "Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle." This made everyone see that those who stirred up the Right-deviating wind to reverse previous verdicts concocted all sorts of fantastic ideas in order to confuse people's thinking and disrupt stability and unity. Only by hitting back at their fallacies can we really do a good job in forging stability and unity on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. We should not pursue that kind of teaching order marked by the "silence of all horses" but should instead create a lively political situation in which everybody advances in struggle. In the course of the great debate, we often hold meetings of the Party branch committee to seriously analyze and study the situation of the movement, sum up experience, raise the understanding of the nature, significance and guiding thought of this great debate, get rid of interference of all kinds, and unify views and action on the basis of Mao Tsetung Thought. While strengthening the leadership of the Party branch and paying attention to giving play to the role of the Communist Youth League and Red Guard organizations, we also make a point of strengthening Party building in the movement, leading a proper organizational life, teaching Party lessons well, doing a good job in training activists, and giving full play to the exemplary, leading role of both Party members and activists in struggle. Leading members of the Party branch and members of the workers propaganda team in the forefront of the struggle go separately to various classes, acting as both commanders and fighters and taking the lead in studying the Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works, discussing class struggle and the Party's basic line and criticizing those absurd arguments whipping up the Right-deviating wind to reverse previous verdicts. Fervently supporting new things emerging from the movement, they mobilize the revolutionary teachers and students of the school to fight in unity and continue to deepen the movement.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "A basic requirement of the Communist Party is to directly rely on the broad masses of revolutionary people." In the beginning, some comrades were worried that middle school students, being young and having little knowledge of the history of struggle between the two lines in educational circles, could not carry out the debate. But the fact is not so. Middle school students have potentially great enthusiasm in carrying the educational revolution through to the end. They have deep feelings for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and for the solid fruits of the educational revolution, so that if only they are properly organized and guided, they will plunge into the battle with vim and vigor. In the light of the characteristics of middle school students, we adopt a variety of flexible methods to arouse them. First, they are given supplemental instructions and political lessons and required to study together with teachers. This incessantly enhances their recognition of the vital significance of this struggle. Second, worker-peasant lecturer groups are invited to give teachers and students class education. Workers and poor and lower-middle peasants who serve as part-time teachers, citing vivid facts, indict the old educational system for rejecting the children of workers and peasants and so arouse the class sentiments of teachers and students, making them actively plunge into the battle to strike back at the

Right-deviating wind to reverse past verdicts. Third, teachers and students jointly recall the past and compare it with the present. With their personal experience and lessons, both positive and negative, the teachers expose the pernicious influence of the revisionist educational line on the youngsters before the great cultural revolution and sing the praises of Chairman Mao's educational line. Fourth, various types of forums are held for students to freely discuss the great results of the educational revolution in the light of their personal experience. Fifth, teachers and students are organized to see cultural and art programs related to the educational revolution. For instance, after seeing the film "Breaking with Old Ideas" and then reviewing it, the students have acquired a deeper understanding of the two-line struggle on the educational front, emulating the proletarian hero, Lung Kuo-cheng, who dares to oppose the revisionist line, carrying forward the Red Guards' revolutionary spirit that "rebellion against the reactionaries is justified" and resolutely hitting back at the Right-deviating wind. Thus, the 3,000 and more students of the school have acted promptly, taking up their pens and going to the battle. In a short period of time, several thousand big-character posters were pasted, and dozens of mass criticism columns were put up separately by teachers and staff members and by various classes. To complete their manuscripts, Class I students of the junior middle section did not rest on Sundays and called on their teachers and asked them to describe how the revisionist educational line dominated the school in the 17 years before the great cultural revolution. Many teachers, while teaching and attending criticism meetings in the daytime, write big-character posters until midnight. The fantastic ideas spread in educational circles are now the prime targets profoundly criticized by one and all.

Aroused ideologically, teachers and students have actively plunged into the battle, displaying high enthusiasm and a strong fighting will. At this time, it is essential to grasp the general direction of struggle and lead them to direct the spearhead at those absurd arguments that whipped up the Right-deviating wind to reverse past verdicts. We must strictly distinguish and correctly handle two different types of contradictions. As we have repeatedly made it clear, the aim of this great debate is to strike back at the Right-deviating wind, make a clear distinction between right and wrong in line and between Marxism and revisionism, and raise one's consciousness of class and line struggles. We separate some wrong things said by certain comrades due to their hazy thinking from those absurd arguments whipping up the Right-deviating wind, and distinguish summation of experience and solution of problems in the course of advance in order to develop and gradually improve the new gains of the educational revolution from negation of new socialist things. As for some who are slow in waking up, we must not show our impatience but must do more work for them and wait patiently, so that they may gradually raise their consciousness in struggle. Thus, everyone has a single target to hit at.

In the course of the great debate, we also pay attention to guiding revolutionary teachers and students to see clearly the revisionist essence of those absurd arguments and criticize them pointedly. On the basis of exposing and criticizing those absurd arguments, we hold a special debate on certain problems having a more serious effect on our school. For instance, should the school be turned into a tool of the dictatorship of the proletariat? Should the middle school practice the open-door policy in teaching? How should we assess the quality of education since the great cultural revolution?

And so on and so forth. The fact is clear that the bourgeoisie exercised its dictatorship over the proletariat with schools dominated by the revisionist line in the 17 years before the great cultural revolution. The fruitful results of the educational revolution unfolded in the schools along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line since the great cultural revolution are enumerated. Before the great cultural revolution our school paid no attention to class struggle nor to participation in productive labor. It openly called on the students to get into "famous brand" universities to become specialists and to climb the "small treasure tower." On graduation, few were willing to go to mountainous and rural areas. Since the great cultural revolution, the school has adhered to the Party's basic line, seriously carried out the Party's educational policy, and organized students to conscientiously study the Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works, putting the transformation of students' thinking in the first place. Meanwhile, in compliance with Chairman Mao's "May 7 directive," it opened its door and set up a branch school in the countryside, in addition to running its own workshops and, taking each class as the unit, establishing links with six production brigades, nine factories, yards and stations. Teachers and students are frequently organized to go to the countryside or factories to participate in the three major revolutionary movements, so that students may develop morally, intellectually and physically. Since the great cultural revolution, more than 3,100 graduates have gone to rural and mountainous areas. Of the 306 graduates who settled in Nanhsiao commune in Yungning county, 18 have joined the Chinese Communist Party and 88 the Communist Youth League. They are playing an active role in the three great revolutionary movements in the countryside. Facts have effectively refuted the fallacy that the educational revolution is "a mess." We understand that only by holding a firm grip on the direction of the great debate will it be possible to better guide teachers, students and staff members to use the viewpoint of classes and class struggle to distinguish right from wrong in line and avoid endless bickering on some side issues while ignoring the fundamental question of whether we should have proletarian or bourgeois dictatorship.

With a view to continuing to deepen the great debate in a correct direction, we make a point of guiding teachers and students to conscientiously study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, criticize Water Margin, make the problems clear both in theory and practice, and incessantly raise our level of criticism. We organize teachers and students to select and read Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's theses relevant to the great debate, with higher grade students reading some chapters and lower grade ones studying quotations. The school's theoretical study central group takes the lead in study and in criticism. In order to help teachers and students study theory well and master the weapon, we make the theoretical backbone elements at every level study first so as to mobilize people in general later, make teachers study first so as to give guidance to their students, and make higher grade students study first so as to help organize lower grade students to study. Meanwhile, those lower grade students who study with good results in turn assist higher grade students, and students may assist teachers. With the continuous deepening of the study of theory, the level of the great debate has also been gradually raised. And criticism of Water Margin in light of reality has caused everyone to realize further that to allow the Right-deviating wind to "reverse" the general orientation

of the educational revolution is, in essence, to capitulate to the bourgeoisie. Everyone says: "Only if theory is studied well can the truth be explained clearly and the line clearly discerned."

In the course of the great debate, we have not stopped our classes nor ceased production. Instead, taking the great debate as the driving force, we have done more to expedite the educational revolution and work in various fields. At present, teachers, students and staff members have even more firmly adhered to the orientation of "revolution in education." Their revolutionary enthusiasm has soared to unprecedented heights. Taking advantage of this favorable situation, we lead them positively to carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian educational line and to continue to do well in carrying out the open-door policy in teaching. Both teachers and students go by turns to the branch school in the countryside, where, combining with teaching, they vigorously engage in farmland capital construction, levelling the land, practicing deep plowing and improving the soil. Staff members of the school's workshops toil day and night, more than doubling their labor productivity and fulfilling ahead of schedule the task of processing products in support of agriculture. Apart from making proper arrangements for the examinations of science subjects in accordance with the principle of linking theory with practice, we combine the examinations on liberal arts with the great debate so as to guide students to write articles to criticize absurd arguments in educational circles and to sing the praises of new things such as the open-door policy in teaching. Every student submits two papers. A number of good articles clear-cut in viewpoint and rich in content have appeared, giving play to the role of liberal art subjects in serving real-life class struggle and promoting the great debate and mass criticism. Practice makes us deeply aware that only by adhering to the Party's basic line, grasping class struggle as the key link and criticizing in depth both revisionism and the bourgeoisie can we continue to remove the traces of the old education, consolidate and develop the fruits of the educational revolution, and transform our school into a tool of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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History Is Made by the Masses of People

by

Chiang Hung (江虹)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 2, Feb. 1, 1976)

"The masses are the real heroes"; "the people, and the people alone, are the motive power in making world history." This is a basic Marxist viewpoint. It has been Chairman Mao's consistent instruction. The mass line being implemented by our Party is built precisely on the foundation of this view of historical materialism. Restudying Chairman Mao's instruction today, we must all the more have faith in and rely on the masses and respect their pioneering spirit. We must strive to combat and prevent revisionism and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Marxism holds that since mankind was divided into classes, the entire history of social development has been a history of class struggle. All social changes resulted from class struggle waged by the masses. This was as true for the replacement of slave society by feudal society and of feudal society by capitalist society as it is for the replacement of capitalist society by socialist society. Without class struggle and the struggle for production by the masses of people, there will be no historical development nor social progress.

What is the motive power in promoting the development of history under conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat? It is likewise provided by the masses of people. In socialist society classes and class struggle will remain for a long time. History is being pushed forward by the struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, the struggle against the capitalist road waged by the broad masses of workers, poor and lower-middle peasants and other revolutionary people who persist in taking the social road and aspire to continue the revolution. Chairman Mao's revolutionary line represents the interests of the revolutionary class and the revolutionary people, while the revisionist line stands for the interests of the landlord and capitalist classes. Our historical task throughout the period of socialism is to replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with the dictatorship of the proletariat, and to use socialism to defeat capitalism and thereby realize communism. To fulfill this great historical task, we can only rely on the great revolutionary practice involving hundreds of millions of the masses. The history of the past 20 years or more since the founding of our country has been a history in which the broad masses of people, led by Chairman Mao, have carried out socialist revolution and construction and pushed society continuously forward. Victories were won both in the socialist transformation of the system of ownership of the means of production and in socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts because the broad masses were mobilized and depended on. In particular, the great proletarian cultural revolution, initiated and led by Chairman Mao personally and with the participation of millions and millions of people, has given a great impetus to social development in our country. History will not remain stagnant as long as the masses keep advancing. We must establish the idea of having a firm faith in and relying on the masses with such a viewpoint of historical materialism.

How to recognize the role of the masses in making history and whether or not to believe in and rely on the masses has all along been a subject of serious contention between Marxism and revisionism. Like representatives of all exploiting classes in history, chieftains of the revisionist line such as Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, proceeding from their reactionary class nature and the idealist concept of history, vigorously negate the great role of the masses in pushing history forward. They fear, hate and ferociously suppress the masses. It is not strange that they should do this because they are revisionists and want to push history backward. They are like all diehards. When the masses of people push the wheel of history forward with their own revolutionary action, "they know only how to follow the cart, complaining that it is running too fast, and attempt to pull it back and reverse it." Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao went down in shameful defeat because they vainly attempted to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism, because they ran counter to the law of historical development and thoroughly betrayed the basic interests of the proletariat and the laboring people.

The mental outlook and style of work on the part of our cadres have changed remarkably through the great proletarian cultural revolution. By summing up their positive as well as negative experiences in dealing with the masses and implementing the mass line, many cadres at leading posts have further established the viewpoint that the masses are the real heroes. They have raised their consciousness of implementing the Party's mass line and cemented their ties with the masses. This is an important gain of the great proletarian cultural revolution. However, we must also see that some comrades have not properly solved this question either in thinking or in action. They always consider themselves wiser than the masses. This kind of thinking is erroneous theoretically and harmful in actual work, and must be analyzed and criticized.

According to the dialectical-materialist viewpoint, "correct ideas can only come from social practice. They can only come from three kinds of social practice: The struggle for production, class struggle and scientific experiment." The vast numbers of workers, peasants and soldiers battling on the forefront of the three great revolutionary movements are the main force engaged in social practice. They are engaged in production and class struggles and scientific experiment, persisting in the struggle against nature, class enemies and the revisionist line. They cherish clear-cut class sentiments of love and hate and have rich practical experience. In the vigorous struggle in socialist revolution and construction they make progress every day, with growing wisdom and talent. "In a certain sense, the wisest and the most capable are fighters with the most practical experience." To make their thinking more conformable to objective reality, leading cadres must "become pupils of the masses" and learn from them, and they must be good at summing up the experience of the masses. Both in changing nature and society, all correct ideas, theories, plans and formulas invariably come from the practice of the masses and, at the same time, are tested, supplemented and developed in the practice of the masses. Many leading cadres are able to exercise correct leadership not because they were born wise, but because they have acted on Chairman Mao's teachings, seriously studied Marxist theory, modestly learned from the masses, and concentrated the wisdom and experience of the masses. Chairman Mao once said that "many

cadres do not see the importance of, or are not good at, summing up the experience of mass struggles. They like to air a lot of opinions subjectively, thinking they are wise. As a result, their opinions become impractical and empty." Moreover, he stressed: "Take the ideas of the masses and concentrate them, then take them back to the masses and carry them through, so as to form correct ideas of leadership--such is the basic method of leadership." We must firmly remember Chairman Mao's instruction. This, however, does not mean that "we will do whatever the masses wish," but that leading comrades should be good at essentially discovering and supporting the enthusiasm of the masses for building socialism. "In regard to all correct opinions expressed by the masses, the Party must lead the masses to translate them into reality in accordance with prevailing conditions. As to incorrect opinions which crop up among the masses, steps must be taken to educate the masses to correct them." If we think we are wiser than the masses and are unwilling to learn from them, and if we pose as heroes and put on airs before the masses and thus divorce ourselves from the masses and from practice, then invariably correct opinions among the masses will be regarded as incorrect ones. In this case, we will not be able to exercise correct leadership nor accomplish anything at all.

While emphasizing the need for leaders to learn from the masses, we also advocate that the higher level should learn from the lower level. This is an important aspect of having faith in and relying on the masses. Those who work at the lower level, particularly comrades who work at the grassroots units, work alongside the masses and join them in struggle as well as in labor. They understand the aspirations and demands of the masses. In respect to leading the masses in class struggle and the struggle for production in their own localities or departments, they have relatively rich experience. On this point alone, many comrades at the lower level are often wiser that those at the higher level. These merits and experience of lower-level comrades are very important for the higher level leadership in grasping the prevailing situation, making policy decisions and exercising correct leadership. In the article "Methods of Work of Party Committees," Chairman Mao points out: "The reason why the leadership of the Central Committee is correct is chiefly that it synthesizes the material, reports and correct views from different localities. It would be difficult for the Central Committee to issue correct orders if the localities did not provide material and put forward opinions." A higher-level organ is a processing plant, and its raw materials have to be supplied from below. To exercise correct leadership over work, higher-level organs must synthesize the material, reports and views from lower-level units and subject them to "a remodelling process of discarding the crude and retaining the fine, eliminating the false and keeping the true, proceeding from one point to another and going from the outside to the inside," so as to achieve a more comprehensive and essential understanding of things and truly grasp the objective law governing the development of things. Material from the lower level, even if it is partial, unsystematic or even one-sided, nevertheless comes from the practice of the masses, reflects the situation from different positions and angles, and poses problems, and so it is indispensible to the higher-level leading organs in giving all-round and careful consideration to problems, making policy decisions and drawing up measures and methods. If we do not heed the views from the lower-level units and voice our opinions, formulate our policies and make our decisions subjectively, we will inevitably suffer setbacks in practice. Chairman Mao has taught us: "Ask your subordinates about matters you don't understand or

don't know"; "be a pupil before you become a teacher, learn from the cadres at the lower levels before you issue orders." Views from cadres at the lower level should be carefully heeded and analyzed from the viewpoint of one dividing into two. If they are reasonable, they should be acted on. We should not turn a deaf ear to cadres at the lower level because we are leaders at the higher level.

Having faith in and relying on the masses presupposes that we accept the supervision of the masses consciously and heed their criticism and suggestions modestly. Our Party's cause is completely identified with the interests of the masses. The Party's line, principles and policies are based on the premise that they accord with the greatest interests of the vast majority of the masses of people and are supported by them. In work, each and every cadre should insist on what is good for the people and correct what is wrong in the interests of the people. If he has shortcomings or mistakes, he should not be afraid that others may point them out and criticize him. He who is afraid of supervision and criticism by the masses is not a good communist. A few comrades feel very uncomfortable the moment they hear of criticism by the masses, and are filled with anxieties the moment they see revolutionary big-character posters. Is this a correct attitude to take? No! The consciousness of the broad masses regarding the line has been greatly raised through the great proletarian cultural revolution. They will oppose anyone who attempts to practice revisionism. This is a very good thing. It should please each and every communist and revolutionary comrade who wants to practice Marxism and is willing to implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Around the leadership at various levels are large numbers of activists among the masses with a high consciousness of class and line struggles; they can assist and supervise the leadership in better carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and doing work with good results. Is there any difficulty which cannot be overcome? Is there any anxiety which cannot be relieved?

In order to have complete faith in the masses and respect their pioneering spirit, it is necessary to have a correct attitude toward new socialist things, which are the products of revolutionary mass movements and magnificent achievements of the masses in socialist revolution. These new socialist things symbolize the advance of history pushed by the masses with their revolutionary action, a new course of historical advance in which the proletariat triumphs over the bourgeoisie and socialism triumphs over capitalism. Without the great revolutionary practice of the masses there will no new socialist things. The question of what kind of attitude we should take toward new things is in fact a question of what kind of attitude we should take toward the revolutionary actions of the masses. Since the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, a large group of new socialist things has appeared on various fronts, and they are of extremely far-reaching significance to restricting bourgeois rights, combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. The mass debate between the two lines now underway in the educational circles and other fields is also a new socialist thing. Every leader should uphold the proletarian stand, stand in the van of the mass movement, enthusiastically support new socialist things, cherish the mass enthusiasm for socialism, and lead the masses forward. When the masses advance, if our own thinking still remains at the old level, if we look at problems from the old viewpoint, if we are skeptical about

new socialist things, and if our thinking and feelings do not mix with those of the masses, then we will easily become captives of revisionism in the complicated struggle between the two lines.

Having faith in and relying on the masses does not mean that there is no need for Party leadership nor that we should abandon political and ideological education work among the masses. In one important respect, correct Party leadership finds expression in arousing the masses on a broad scale and in fully developing the revolutionary enthusiasm and creativeness of the masses. And mass revolutionary movements are always unfolded under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and under the correct leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. At present, criticism against the Right-deviating wind to reverse previous verdicts on the educational front is carried out under the leadership of Party committees at various levels. Only by having faith in and relying on the masses fully and by arousing them boldly to develop the mass debate can the right and wrong relating to the question of line be distinguished. At the same time, we should strengthen Party leadership so that the debate will develop in a planned and systematic manner, and the various policies of the Party are strictly enforced in the process.

The key to whether or not we can have faith in and rely on the masses lies in our efforts to remold our world outlook. The change in world outlook is a basic change. Why is it that some comrades who talk about the mass line every day often forget it in work? Why is it that, although they see certain superficial phenomena among the masses, they often cannot discover the essence of their revolutionary enthusiasm and creativeness? In the final analysis, the answer is that these comrades have not truly remolded their world outlook, nor have they let the viewpoint of historical materialism that the masses are the real heroes take root in their minds. We should continue to study seriously the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, take class struggle as the key link, persist in criticizing the counter-revolutionary revisionist lines of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, and remold ourselves in the heat of mass struggle. "So long as we grasp the science of Marxism-Leninism, have faith in the masses, keep close ties with them and lead them forward, we can fully surmount any obstacles and difficulties, and our force will be invincible."

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It Is Fine To Conduct Open-Door Scientific Research

by

Party Committee of the Talien Institute of
Chemistry and Physics of the Chinese Academy
of Sciences

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 2, Feb. 1, 1976)

Since the great proletarian cultural revolution and under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, our Talien Institute of Chemistry and Physics has developed its work vigorously and brought about an excellent situation by persistently taking the road of conducting open-door scientific research and constantly guiding scientific and technical personnel to integrate with workers and peasants.

Our institute is now more than 60 years old. It covers a relatively broad academic field and has more old scientists and technologists. It has a definite foundation for scientific research work. Since liberation, under the leadership of the Party, it has done some work for the country. But before the great cultural revolution, due to interference and sabotage by Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line, the institute conducted scientific research behind closed doors for a long period of time, and certain academic subjects were controlled by a few bourgeois intellectuals. Some people only onesidedly emphasized personal interests without considering national interests. They were obsessed with so-called "free choices of subjects" and deliberately established "bases" with themselves as the center. Others were intent on making a name for themselves without paying any attention to what happened outside. They were only interested in pursuing what they called "theoretical systems" behind closed doors. Still others corrupted young scientific and technical personnel with bourgeois ideas of fame and gain, with the result that some, in order to acquire personal "capital," "work nights to lay a foundation, but listlessly take up an assignment" and inevitably head for the evil bourgeois road of personal struggle. This situation gravely affected the socialist orientation of scientific research work. The revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao was criticized during the great proletarian cultural revolution and also during the movements to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. As a result of this criticism, we have realized that throughout the historical period of socialism, classes and class struggle still exist, and the danger of capitalist restoration still exists. The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is the principal contradiction during this historical period. Scientific research units are by no means places where science is pursued for the sake of science alone; instead, they should be regarded as bases for combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the old society, "science and technology serve the rich and the property owners." For this reason, old bourgeois traditions, concepts, order and habits die hard in the scientific and technological domain. Moreover, the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines on the scientific and technological front is extremely acute due to the interference and sabotage by Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line. To turn science and technology from an instrument of capitalism into one of socialism, we must wholeheartedly rely on the working class and take the bright socialist

road of conducting scientific research in an open-door way. Only in this way can we put an end to the monopoly of science and technology by a few people, orient scientific research work to better serving proletarian politics, workers, peasants and soldiers, integrating it with productive labor, and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in developing socialist scientific undertakings.

During the past several years, we have opened scientific research facilities to workers, peasants and soldiers. The stress has been laid on practice in production as we go out to join workers, peasants and soldiers in conducting research or invite them to our facilities. On the basis of actual conditions, we have in various ways persisted in integrating our work with practice in production and with the work of the masses of workers and peasants. Some of our projects have been selected to meet the needs of industrial and agricultural production and national defense construction under overall state planning and arrangements. We have also worked with workers, peasants and soldiers in formulating research plans, setting technical measures and developing research work. We have applied research results gained in the laboratory to production with user units and the worker and peasant masses. "Small detachments" have been sent out by our institute to the frontline of production to work with the masses in tackling some difficult problems. We have also set up "retail departments" to help units concerned solve some urgent problems resulting from production. Furthermore, we have invited workers inside and outside our institute to the research rooms to conduct joint research. In 1975, our institute established ties with more than 300 units in 27 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions throughout the country. We have sent out more than 500 persons and invited more than 200 persons to our institute. Our research projects involve industry, agriculture, national defense, foreign aid, outer space and underwater. Our institute has formed a three-in-one combination group of workers, cadres and scientific and technological personnel, and has integrated into a single process scientific research, production and application. This has made the personnel at the institute generate high political enthusiasm, display great revolutionary vigor, unite and coordinate with each other in achieving more and more gratifying results in scientific research year after year. In 1973, the institute achieved 10 major results in scientific research, and in 1974, 20 results, of which 5 reached the world's advanced level. In 1975, it achieved 28 results, 12 of which reached the world's advanced level. For example, we worked with workers of Shengli Chemical Works of the Peking General Petrochemical Plant, and in half a year produced industrial devices to dispose of pollution caused by nitric oxide. In cooperation with related factories and units, we successively overcame in less than 2 years three problems arising from removing or purifying polluted water discharged by coking, dyestuffs and motion picture film production plants. We have found unique ways to solve these problems. Some results in this field of scientific research are being tested by the industries concerned. In addition, in cooperation with related units, our institute has successfully trial-produced a variety of "Chinese brand" new-type catalysts within our domestic resources, thereby paving the way for the establishment of our own catalytic system. Since the great cultural revolution, our institute has successfully trial-produced 144 pieces of 72 types of new-type instruments. Of these, 16 kinds of instruments including chromatolytic instruments and earth surface surveying instruments have been produced in quantity. Practice has made us fully understand that the

question of whether we should conduct scientific research with an open door or behind closed doors marks a fundamental distinction between a socialist scientific research institute and a capitalist one, and an important aspect of the struggle between Chairman Mao's proletarian line and the revisionist line on science and technology. The appearance of this new socialist thing--open-door scientific research--represents an important achievement of the great proletarian cultural revolution, a profound socialist revolution on the scientific research front, and the only way to develop socialist science with greater, faster, better and more economical results.

Progress is achieved in struggle and followed by new struggle. Our efforts to conduct open-door scientific research have the active support of related industrial and agricultural production departments and are warmly welcomed and encouraged by the masses of workers and peasants. But these efforts are attacked and criticized by certain persons in the scientific and technological circles. They openly allege that "we should not conduct open-door scientific research in all institutes" and "it is better to make less use of this innovation."

One of the "reasons" certain people in scientific and technological circles oppose conducting open-door scientific research is that, as they say, "just as directors are the center in theatrical circles, researchers are the center in research institutes." According to this reasoning, professional scientific and technological personnel can only be confined to towering buildings working with a small group of people, while the masses of workers and peasants must be barred from scientific research and should not be allowed to take part in scientific research work. Fundamentally, this argument runs counter to the historical-materialist viewpoint that "the people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history." The working people are the creators of material as well as spiritual wealth. In our socialist country under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the masses of workers,peasants and soldiers are the main force in class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. They have played and will continue to play an increasingly important role in developing science and technology. No progress can possibly be made in science and technology without the participation of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and without the contribution of their rich practical experience. It is clear that the clamor that "researchers are the center of scientific research" reflects an effort to uphold the idealist conception of history on behalf of the bourgeoisie. Chairman Mao has instructed us: "Without integrating themselves with workers, peasants and the masses of people, intellectuals will achieve nothing." "In a certain sense, the wisest and the most talented are fighters with the richest practical experience." It is necessary to conduct scientific research in an open-door way if we are to enable scientific and technological personnel to remold their world outlook by receiving political reeducation from workers, peasants and soldiers and to pursue advanced study vocationally. In this way, we can integrate book knowledge with production practice and smash the slavish conception--"we dare not do what foreigners have not done," "we dare not change the pattern established by foreigners" or even "we dare not believe that we can surpass the level of foreigners." Thus our scientific cause will more quickly catch up with and surpass the world's advanced level.

As a result of our persistent efforts in conducting open-door scientific research and taking the three-in-one combination road, scientific and technological personnel have been freed from the small world of the laboratory and come into contact with workers and peasants in the practice of the three great revolutionary movements. Profound changes have taken place in their spiritual outlook. Studying Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works, criticizing revisionism and conducting scientific research together with the workers, they have established a deep proletarian friendship with them. In the case of some scientific and technological personnel who have done well, it is hard to tell from their appearance whether they are workers or intellectuals. Many workers said with feeling: "Such intellectuals make our hearts warm." Some scientific and technological personnel recalled with emotion: "In the past, we drew and workers worked; when they worked, we watched. Now we join them in drawing up plans and tackling problems. We've become more practical." Conducting open-door scientific research has changed the past situation where "the institute is run by experts" with researchers as the center. It has also enhanced scientific research. For example, our institute was once charged with a highly important exploratory scientific research project. During the first 7 years the project was handled behind closed doors. Only the opinions of experts and ideas from books were sought, and the progress was sluggish. Then in the subsequent 3 years, workers were invited to the institute to work with us, and the progress was fast. This made an expert who engaged in this project and who formerly was regarded as the "center of scientific research" sigh with relief: "I even dared not dream of such revolutionary spirit of daring to think and act and such high speed before." The so-called theory that "researchers are the center" as advocated by certain people in the scientific and technological circles is nothing new. When the bourgeois rightists attacked the Party in 1957, didn't they also clamor for "having experts run the institute" and "professors run the university?" Today the fact that these reactionary fallacies have again been dished out in a disguised form by certain people in the scientific and technological circles fully shows that their bourgeois stand and world outlook are extremely stubborn.

In opposing conducting scientific research in an open-door way, they vociferously advanced another "reason," saying that "to propose running the institute in an open-door way may generate pressure, making people afraid to undertake theoretical research." It appears as if that they alone were most concerned with the improvement of scientific theory, and that any effort to conduct scientific research in an open-door way might impede the development of scientific theory. However, this is nothing but a bourgeois bias. Engels pointed out: "The emergence and development of science are from the first determined by production." Chairman Mao has also taught us: "Truth is discovered through practice and is verified and developed through practice." The practice of production struggle is the source of natural-scientific theory and the criterion for examining scientific truth. The history of the development of natural science tells us that scientific theories are generated on the basis of production struggle and are also developed and improved on this basis. Without the practice of production struggle, no development of scientific theories is possible. Engels once said: "Once society has a technical requirement, this requirement will be more capable of pushing science forward than 10 universities." Conducting

scientific research in an open-door way and having scientific and technological personnel integrate with workers and peasants, scientific research with production and theory with practice will enable scientific and technological personnel to understand many things concerning industrial and agricultural production and national defense construction and see the pressing demands of workers, peasants and soldiers for technical innovations and technical transformation. This will prompt them to work hard together with workers, peasants and soldiers in raising the level of science and creating very favorable conditions for the development of natural-scientific theories. How can one set conducting scientific research in an open-door way against theoretical study? Conducting open-door scientific research is precisely a powerful motive force in spurring the development of scientific theories. If there is any "pressure" generated by conducting open-door scientific research, it exists only for a small handful of people clinging to the bourgeois world outlook because they are committed to the college-type and mystical "theoretical research" and are unwilling to take the road of integrating with workers and peasants. To them, such "pressure" is not a bad but a good thing, for it may urge them to go to the workers and peasants, to combine theory with practice and to contribute to the development of socialist scientific cause.

Take, for example, group 203 of the second research room of our institute. Because members of the group went deep into three factories and integrated their research with production, their project on alkene-hydrocarbon polymerization high power catalyst became a success in only one year, with a recovery rate 21 times that of the best catalyst of a similar type in foreign countries. While solving practical production problems, they analyzed and collated a large quantity of first-hand material and data by discarding the crude and selecting the fine, eliminating the false and retaining the true, proceeding from one side to the other and from the outside to the inside. In this way they deduced a formula concerning the effects of hydrogen on the molecular weight of polymers, found the law of deterioration of activity of two kinds of catalytic systems, studied the relationship between catalysts' activity and paramagnetism, and further developed the catalytic theory, thereby initially discovering something, inventing something, and creating something. This fully shows that conducting scientific research in an open-door way is in full accord with the dialectical-materialist line of knowledge and paves a broad way for the development of scientific theory. Since the great cultural revolution, our institute has written 487 papers and academic reports. Nearly a hundred of these were published in national scientific and technological journals. A number of scientific and technological works including Gas Chromatography have also been published. Facts have forcefully rebuffed those views opposing open-door scientific research. The so-called "pressure," "dare not undertake theoretical research," etc.--this precisely shows that certain people are totally ignorant of how theories of natural science are generated and developed and that their knowledge of the history of natural science is close to zero.

Still another "reason" used by certain people in the scientific and technological circles to oppose open-door scientific research is that this proposition is "incomplete" and "immature." In their view, open-door scientific research is something for those "low-level" and "theoretically poor"

scientific research units and is absolutely inapplicable to research units engaged in sophisticated, precise and top-notch projects of a strong theoretical nature, such as those concerning atomic energy, astronomy, mathematics and the like. This kind of argument might confuse people at the first instance, but once its mask is ripped off, its essence of opposing open-door scientific research is revealed. Engels said:"First of all, astronomy, which, if only on account of the seasons, was absolutely indispensable for pastoral and agricultural peoples. Astronomy can only develop with the aid of mathematics. Hence this also had to be tackled.--Further, at a certain stage and in certain regions (raising of water for irrigation in Egypt), and especially with the origin of towns, big building structures and the development of handicrafts, mechanics also arose. This was soon needed also for navigation and war.--Moreover, it requires the aid of mathematics and so promotes the latter's development." Here, the teacher of proletarian revolution pointed out that the various branches of natural science developed as production developed. There is no exception with the study of higher mathematics and high energy physics nor with the study of the micro- and macro-world. Abundant facts prove that with science developing to this day, the more advanced and sophisticated a scientific research project, the stronger its comprehensive nature and the greater its dependence on modern industrial technology. This often requires scientific research units to be closely integrated with many factories. For instance, China's man-made earth satellites and atomic bombs are the products of the joint efforts of its scientific and technological personnel and workers. The study of a new energy source in our institute was originally undertaken by two specialists with the help of a research student. It went on for 4 to 5 years, but only one paper was written. Though there were a host of mathematical formulas, no practical problem was solved. Later, with the participation of workers, forces were concentrated to fight a war of annihilation. A new energy source device noted for big volume, small size,high precision, sensitivity and reliability was soon produced, and a number of important laws concerning catalysis, distribution of air currents and transmission of heat and substance were explored. It can be seen that greater, faster, better and more economical results can be achieved in developing advanced and sophisticated scientific research projects only by conducting open-door scientific research and with the participation of workers and peasants, as well as by integrating the projects with practice. To tell the truth, those in the science and technological circles who say that the idea of conducting open-door scientific research is "incomplete" and "immature" actually want to create the "theory of peculiarity" for advanced and sophisticated scientific research projects so as to oppose the socialist road of conducting open-door scientific research and to pull scientific research back to the old road of revisionism. This indicates that these people are indeed very "mature" in practicing revisionism but do not have the slightest interest in building socialism.

What do certain people in the science and technological circles want in so energetically opposing open-door scientific research? Let us hear them: "You must not mention the dictatorship of the proletariat on the science and technological front." The truth is that when they negate open-door scientific research, they mean to oppose the fulfillment of the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat in the field of science and technology. "The proletariat must exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture."

Conducting open-door scientific research is conducive to strengthening the working-class leadership over scientific research, to the integration of scientific and technological personnel with workers and peasants, to restricting bourgeois rights, and to narrowing the difference between mental and physical labor. It is also conducive to making our scientific research work serve proletarian politics and industrial and agricultural production as well as national defense. In a nutshell, it is conducive to strengthening and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. Certain people in the science and technological circles are so weak in their nerves that, as Engels sharply pointed out in his criticism of the philistines of the Social-democratic Party at that time, "they shout for help the moment they hear of dictatorship of the proletariat." That is why they frantically attack and oppose taking the road of open-door scientific research in an attempt to abolish the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in the field of science and technology. This is not surprising at all.

This struggle on the science and technological front is by no means accidental. It is a sharp reflection on the science and technological front of the struggle between the two classes, two roads, and two lines during the socialist period. As in the educational circles, a Right-deviating wind of reversing past verdicts was fanned in the science and technological circles for a time. But this likewise cannot prevent the revolutionary torrents from surging forward. "Nothing is hard in this world if you dare to scale the heights." We must take class struggle as the key link, adhere to the Party's basic line, unswervingly lead our scientific and technological personnel to integrate with workers and peasants, take the road of conducting open-door scientific research, and strive to run our socialist scientific research institute well as well as scaling the heights in science and technology!

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Actively Develop Mass Scientific Experiment in Agriculture

by

CCP Committee of Huajung County

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With class struggle as the key link, actively developing mass scientific experiments in agriculture, setting up and improving agricultural science networks at four levels, and striving to bring up agrotechnical forces from among poor and lower-middle peasants and educated young people--this is one of the vital measures for implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, developing in depth the mass movement "in agriculture, learn from Tachai," and speeding up farm mechanization.

The masses of people are the main force in the three major revolutionary movements--class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. In whatever work we do, we must firmly grasp class struggle as the key link and fully arouse the masses. Our Huajung county is located by the side of the Tungt'ing Lake. Surrounded by water on all sides, it has a number of inland lakes. The underground water table is high, and the fields are in low-lying land. Before the great cultural revolution, farm production developed rather slowly, with per-mow output of grain hovering around 500 catties for a long time. Nor was the diversified economy developed significantly. Why? Because the Party's basic line was not resolutely carried out, class struggle was not firmly grasped, capitalist tendencies were not criticized thoroughly, the movement to learn from Tachai was not pushed vigorously, and scientific experiments were sluggish. Since the start of the great proletarian cultural revolution, we have, in the course of the movement of learning from Tachai in agriculture, penetratingly carried out the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines. We have actively mobilized the poor and lower-middle peasants, rural cadres, technicians, and educated youth to carry out a series of experiments and innovations in accordance with the "eight-character charter" for agriculture and in the light of actual conditions. As a result, in the fields of farmland water conservation, farming system, crop varieties, plant protection, cultivation techniques, and production tools, remarkable changes have taken place. Since 1970, per-mow output of grain in the county has surpassed the target laid down in the "Program" every year to exceed a thousand catties. Big-margin growth has been registered in agriculture, forestry, livestock breeding, subsidiary production and fishery. Facts show that we can push revolution and production to develop incessantly along the socialist direction only if we persist in Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, unswervingly rely on the vast masses of people and grasp the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines.

Liberating their minds and breaking down superstitions, the vast masses of peasants struggle against the sabotage of class enemies and the obstruction of Right-deviating ideas and rise up to carry out scientific experiments in the interest of revolution. This is a new socialist thing which helps the masses of people master scientific and technological knowledge, restrict bourgeois rights, and reduce the three major differences. Whether we should support or oppose this new thing, help or suppress its growth, is an

aspect of class and line struggles. In our county, as early as agricultural cooperativization and the formation of people's communes, many activists among poor and lower-middle peasants had already conducted high-yield experiments on paddy rice, cotton and jute. Later, encouraged by Chairman Mao's call to "learn from Tachai in agriculture," the broad masses displayed still higher enthusiasm for scientific experiment in the interest of revolution. Five poor and lower-middle peasants in No. 3 production team of Wuhsing brigade of Huch'eng commune voluntarily set up a scientific experiment group, persisted in conducting scientific research in the interests of revolution, and gained some high-yield experiences. However, these good experiences were not properly popularized because at that time the county Party committee did not follow a correct ideological and political line. The socialist enthusiasm latent among the broad masses was consequently untapped. In the midst of the great cultural revolution, the broad masses exposed and criticized the counter-revolutionary revisionist line and put up big-character posters against some comrades of the county Party committee. Mass criticism deeply educated us and raised our consciousness of the line. Mobilizing the masses, we struck at the sabotage activities of class enemies, criticized the revisionist line in scientific research, summed up and extended the experiences of mass scientific experiment groups of Wuhsing brigade in conducting scientific experiments in the interest of revolution. Agricultural science organizations were set up from the county to the commune, brigade and team, forming agricultural science networks at four levels. So mass scientific experiments rapidly spread out across the county.

There is a school of thought which holds that while production may depend on peasants, scientific experiment can only depend on specialists. The rapid development of mass scientific experiments in agriculture disproves this extremely erroneous school of thought. The vast masses of peasants can undertake scientific experiment, and, in fact, without mass practice and without relying on the masses it will be impossible to solve some major problems in science and technology nor can specialists invent or create anything. Take the prevention and control of diseases and pests in our county for example. In the past, some professional technicians failed to find effective means to control diseases and pests over large areas although they had carried out a number of experiments, nor were they able to extend and popularize some advanced measures for control of diseases and pests from other areas. This was because they divorced themselves from the masses and from reality. In recent years, the broad masses have carried out scientific experiments, developed group forecasting and reporting, group prevention and control. On the basis of agricultural prevention and control, artificial prevention and control have been applied to key areas and prevention and control by drugs to key problems, and a whole set of biological prevention and control measures have been actively put into force. All this has resulted in basic control over the danger of several principal diseases and pests. Mass scientific experiments have not only led to the creation of a variety of indigenous insecticides and insect-catching gear, thereby providing favorable conditions for the elimination of diseases and pests through people's war; they have also made it possible to score some valuable scientific research achievements. The agricultural science station of Chingkang commune, after several years of careful observation, initially ascertained the laws governing the local activity of such harmful insects as rice leaf rollers and rice thrips, providing valuable research data for the study of the winter breeding grounds of rice leaf rollers and the propagation of rice thrips.

In this respect, problems which were left unsolved by certain specialists and authorities were solved.

On the question of scientific research, whether we should rely on the masses or specialists and authorities or a few professional technicians has always involved a struggle between the two classes and two lines. Throughout the ages the reactionary ruling class, inheriting the mantle of Confucius, trumpeted the idealist conception of history that "the highest are wise and the lowest are stupid," mocking at the laboring people as totally ignorant. The same is true for bourgeois representatives who wormed their way into our Party such as Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and their gangs. They went all out to advocate "mysticism of science," slandered the laboring people as having "stupid brains" and incapable of conducting scientific research, and did their best to push a line of specialists. The great cultural revolution criticized the revisionist line in scientific research, but did not put an end to the struggle. Last year, when a Right-deviating wind to reverse verdicts was stirred up in the educational circles, some people in science and technological circles also spread a lot of absurd views designed to reverse the verdict on the revisionist line in scientific research. One of these views attempted to negate mass scientific research in agriculture; it was alleged that "the agricultural science networks at four levels are incomplete and immature," "a question mark should be put to the four-level networks," etc. To respect the masses and practice or to belittle the masses and practice--this is one of the basic differences between the proletarian and bourgeois lines in scientific research. Engels pointed out long ago: "From the very beginning the origin and development of the sciences has been determined by production." "Once society has a technical requirement, then this requirement is more capable of pushing sciences forward than ten universities." Chairman Mao points out: "In a certain sense, the wisest and the most talented are fighters with the richest practical experience." Agricultural science is the summation of practical experiences of peasant masses over the centuries; it is created by the masses of people. The peasant masses in general and the poor and lower-middle peasants in particular are the most positive in supporting the socialist road in the countryside. They are firm in stand, good in thinking and high in consciousness. As they have battled in the frontline of the three major revolutionary movements for a long time, they have accumulated a wealth of experience. In the countryside, we must depend on them in class and production struggles as well as in scientific research. Setting up agricultural science experimental networks at four levels, selecting scientific research activists with good political and ideological background from among poor and lower-middle peasants, commune members and educated youth to participate in agricultural science organizations at various levels and setting up a peasant technical contingent with poor and lower-middle peasants as its mainstay--this is an important guarantee for the promotion of the penetrating development of mass scientific experimental activities. It is one of the new socialist things emerging from the great proletarian cultural revolution, and it has taken deep root among the masses. Regardless of how the strange views in the science and technological circles "question" it, it will surely grow sturdily with the development of the three major revolutionary movements in the countryside.

Over the past years, in accordance with Chairman Mao's instruction that "it is necessary to put proletarian politics in command and take the road of the Shanghai Machine Tool Plant in training technicians from among workers," we have striven to run the agricultural science networks at four levels well and persisted in training agrotechnicians from among peasants. When doing this, we always put ideological building in the first place, and asked Party organizations at various levels to give them education in three respects: First, education in class and line struggles. They were organized to take an active part in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work, the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, and the movement to study the theory of proletarian dictatorship so as to raise their consciousness of combating and preventing revisionism. Second, education in conducting scientific research in the interest of revolution and in breaking away from concepts of bourgeois rights such as private ownership of knowledge. Third, education in keeping close ties with productive labor and the masses, so that they would preserve the colors of the poor and lower-middle peasants. In this way, guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, those who joined the agricultural science networks at four levels continued to raise their technical level. A Red and expert scientific research contingent of peasants with poor and lower-middle peasants as the mainstay, numbering more than 18,000 persons, is growing with vigor. And led by it, another 90,000 persons or more in the county have participated in agricultural scientific experiments.

In conducting mass scientific experiments, some successes have been scored while some failures have been sustained. It is therefore also very important to support the pioneering spirit of the masses and deal with failures and setbacks of scientific experiments with a scientific attitude. To pour cold water on the masses because of one failure, not to support them but even laugh at and pick on them--this is the attitude of aristocrats toward mass movements, an attitude which is diametrically opposed to the scientific attitude of Marxists who have faith in and enthusiastically support revolutionary mass movements. To take such an erroneous attitude will surely dampen the enthusiasm of the masses. In the spring of 1970, the cadres and masses of Hsinchien brigade of Hsinho commune, in order to solve the problem caused by the rotting of early rice seddlings, displayed the revolutionary spirit of daring to think and act and took the lead in experimenting on fostering seedlings in the fields. At first, due to lack of experience, large tracts of yellow and dead seedlings appeared. Under this situation, were we to continue supporting them? We chose to support them and encouraged them not to lose heart but go on experimenting. As a result, after studying the experiences of other areas and seriously drawing on the lessons, they not only successfully experimented and extended the fostering of seedlings in the fields, but also created new techniques for fostering seedlings, thereby providing experience for the solution of this "old, big and difficult" problem--rotted seedlings--in the lakeside area. In the last six years, no rotting of seedlings has ever been reported in the whole county, while the quantity of seeds used has been reduced by 40 percent. In the meantime, planting has been advanced by more than ten days, so that no early rice seedlings were planted in May and no late rice seedlings in August. In 1975, under the condition when low temperature with rain persisted for a long time, planting of strong early rice seedlings in the spring was still

completed in time in the whole county. This shows that in carrying out scientific experiments, as in doing other work, the broad revolutionary masses, given the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, can educate themselves in struggle, correctly sum up both successful and unsuccessful experience, and reach conclusions that accord with objective laws.

Developing mass agricultural scientific experiments is conducive to giving full scope to the role of professional technicians and educated youth. Technicians who are specialized in research of agricultural science and educated young people who have gone to mountainous and rural areas or returned to their homes in the countryside have definite cultural knowledge or certain technical skills. They are precious assets for developing socialist agriculture. However, "intellectuals can accomplish nothing unless they are integrated with the worker and peasant masses." If they are to contribute to the development of socialist agriculture, technicians and educated youth must go into the midst of the masses and practice "three togetherness" with the poor and lower-middle peasants and rural cadres. The extensive development of mass scientific experiments has created favorable conditions for such integration. Joining the poor and lower-middle peasants in developing scientific experiments can help technicians and educated youth temper themselves and transform their thought, broaden their field of vision and enrich their knowledge. It can help smash the concepts of bourgeois rights such as private ownership of knowledge, reduce the differences between mental and physical labor and promote the transformation of intellectuals into laborers. Over the past several years, we have attached importance to integration with reality and conducted education on the ideological and political line among technicians and educated youth. We have arranged for them to work and train separately in agricultural science units of communes, brigades and teams. We encourage them to work with the masses and persist in combining experiments, demonstrations and popularization in large and small fields. This has developed their positive roles. In breeding fine seeds alone, since 1970, together with the masses and through such methods as trial sowing and cultivation, they have bred a group of high-yielding fine seeds suitable for the local area and popularized them throughout the county. The per-unit-area yield has generally been about four times what it was before. Not only has sufficiency in fine seeds been achieved in the county, but more than 70 million catties of fine rice seeds, 4.6 million catties of fine cotton seeds and more than one million catties of jute seeds have been supplied to other areas at different times.

To be able to arrange scientific research projects in the light of local conditions at the given time and place--this is also a salient superior point about mass scientific experiments. Toiling in the fields every day, the broad masses are most familiar with problems that must urgently be solved in developing agricultural production, and they are most qualified to speak on them. After the popularization of double-crop rice throughout the county, for instance, as the existing early rice seeds matured almost at the same time and the harvesting periods were concentrated, there was seasonal shortage of manpower during "harvesting and sowing on a crash basis" periods. In some places early rice could not be harvested in time, and late rice matured late and was low in yield. To solve this problem, the broad masses and technicians carried out experiments. Agricultural science organizations at various levels in the county unfolded comparative experiments on more than a hundred early rice strains, from which several strains with different maturity periods were selected for coordinated planting, thereby solving this

contradiction more satisfactorily and boosting the output of grain. Following the development of grain production, the diversified economy was found to be incompatible with it. In view of this, the technicians of agricultural science organizations at various levels, together with the masses, actively unfolded scientific research activities in forestry, livestock breeding, subsidiary production and fishery. Making use of cross-breeding superiority, they fostered a group of new species of hogs, cattle and fish, and successfully propagated floating lotus seeds, opening up sources of feeds for the development of hog breeding in the lakeside area. Success was gained in the artificial cultivation of white fungus and the extraction of bee jelly by indigenous methods. A set of experience in growing trees and bamboo in the lakeside region was summed up and popularized. The superstitious belief that no fir trees could be grown in the lakeside region was smashed; today, more than 60,000 mow of fir timber has been grown in the county. Several scientific research bases for cotton, jute, mulberry, tea leaves, Hunan lotus, and fishery have gradually been established. The extensive development of scientific research activities has further implemented the policy of "general development with grain as the key link." In 1975, revenues from the diversified economy were three times those of 1965.

The carrying out of agricultural scientific experiments by the masses on the basis of reality is also conducive to implementing the policy of self-reliance and arduous struggle and the principle of diligence and frugality. More things can be done with less money; things can be done even without money. A lot of instruments, equipment and work tools used in scientific experiments in our county were made by the broad masses with simple and indigenous means. When they lack funds, they raise them collectively. Where they do not have the techniques, they learn them while working. If equipment is insufficient, they solve the problem by themselves without asking the state for help. This has not only lightened the burden on the masses but also reduced state investments and insured the smooth development of scientific experimental activities. The county has made and popularized more than 20 varieties of indigenous insecticides low in cost and highly efficacious, in addition to reforming or successfully trial manufacturing more than 30 kinds of farm machines and tools. The 23 commune-run agricultural science stations, while carrying out scientific research, develop production in order to increase their income and accumulate capital. They have bought seven tractors, more than 40 diesel engines and electric motors and more than 1,500 pieces of simple apparatus for scientific research.

At present, the poor and lower-middle peasants, rural cadres, technicians, educated youth and commune members all over the county are seriously studying the theory of proletarian dictatorship and summing up their experience. We are resolved, in the struggle to learn from Tachai in agriculture and build a Tachai-type county, to persist in taking class struggle as the key link, carry out education on the Party's basic line in depth, give full scope to the enthusiasm of the broad masses and cadres, raise the mass movement of scientific experiment to a new level, and make positive contributions to developing agricultural production with greater, faster, better and more economical results and to speeding up the mechanization and modernization of agriculture.

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Wholeheartedly Rely on the Working Class

by

Party Committee of the Lanchow Chemical
Industry Company

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 2, February 1, 1976)

As early as the 2nd Plenary Session of the 7th Party Central Committee, Chairman Mao taught us that in our struggle in the cities, we "must wholeheartedly rely on the working class." Later, Chairman Mao drew up the Constitution of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company, and presented a whole set of principles calling for firmly putting proletarian politics in command, strengthening Party leadership, launching extensive mass movements, instituting the system of "two-participations, one-transformation and three-in-one combination" and carrying out full-scale technical innovation and technological revolution. This further showed the direction and way in which we should rely on the working class to run socialist enterprises well. However, our Lanchow Chemical Industry Company underwent a tortuous course replete with struggles between the two lines and two world outlooks before it was really able to proceed from lack of initiative to becoming relatively conscious in specifically embracing the idea of wholeheartedly relying on the worker masses to run enterprises and putting it into practice.

Before the great proletarian cultural revolution, due to the interference and sabotage of Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line in running enterprises, although we said workers were masters of the enterprises, in actual practice the enterprises relied not on the working class but enforced the system under which "command is assumed by the enterprise director and affairs run by the four chiefs." This meant that the enterprise director made the last decisions and the chief engineer, chief mechanic, chief accountant and the chief machinist held the reins of operation. The status of the worker masses as masters of the enterprise was not truly established and their socialist initiative was greatly repressed. As a result, the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat was not realized at the basic level and production developed tardily, bringing about a passive situation of zero growth in ten years. The great proletarian cultural revolution smashed the two headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. With the revisionist line in running enterprises coming under fire, the working masses really became the masters of the enterprise as their socialist initiative, repressed for many years, erupted like lava from a volcano. The mass movement is the greatest melting pot of revolution, and is the best school as well. It has educated us, jolted us, widened our field of vision, and enabled us to see the wisdom and strength of the worker masses. On this ideological basis, we deepened our criticism of the revisionist line in running enterprises. Guided by the Anshan Constitution, we gradually established a set of rules and methods for workers to participate in management, giving the worker masses a direct hold over actual power in the political, economic, planning and technical aspects of the enterprise, developing a new kind of socialist relationship and bringing the enterprise a new look marked by profound changes and vigorous growth all round. Since 1970, production tasks have increased annually, state plans have been overfulfilled every

year, and the average annual growth rate of gross industrial output value and output of major products has been over 20 percent. Capital accumulation for the state has grown by the average of 48 percent annually and the range of product has risen from 49 to 92. In terms of gross industrial output value, our company equals three and a half companies of comparable size before the great cultural revolution.

Summing up both the positive and negative experiences causes us to further understand that the question of whom to rely on is not a question of method but one of line. Whether to have faith in and rely on the broad masses of workers and regard them as the masters of the enterprise or to discriminate against, belittle and subject them to a whole lot of restrictive and coercive management rules, is not only a fundamental issue marking the difference between Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the revisionist lines of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, but also an important symbol distinguishing the socialist enterprise from the capitalist.

That we must rely on the masses of workers in running enterprise is decided by the nature and task of the socialist enterprise itself. The socialist enterprise is not merely a production organization, but more importantly, it is a battleground in which the proletariat struggles against the bourgeoisie. Allegations that an enterprise is purely an "economic organization" or "production organization" and its "highest and most fundamental task" is to raise production are most preposterous. Before classes are eliminated, production will always be carried out within a certain class relationship. In the period of socialism when there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, if an enterprise does not rely on the working class, how can it be called socialist enterprise? If reliance can be placed on anybody so long as products are turned out, then what difference is there between a socialist and a capitalist enterprise?

In relying on the worker masses to run an enterprise, what is most essential is to rely on them in implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and persevering in its socialist orientation. For this reason, old concepts such as "the leadership minds the line while the masses mind their work" and "the leadership is wise" should be smashed so that the masses and the leadership can jointly grasp the line to resolve cardinal issues and keep a firm grip on the orientation of the enterprise. On this point, our understanding has been greatly raised since the great proletarian cultural revolution, and a number of concrete measures have been simultaneously taken: All important matters of the enterprise must be discussed by the masses, who should be given full details of the Party's line, principles and policies, so that they can be mobilized to implement them; members of the workers' theoretical contingent should be organized to check the results of leading groups at various levels in studying Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works and in implementing the proletarian revolutionary line and policies; and the Party committee should promptly discuss the big-character posters and proposals of the masses, with the first and second secretaries personally handling letters and visits from the masses and supporting their pioneering spirit. In this way, the worker masses, aware of their position as masters of the enterprise, increase their sense of responsibility, daring to uphold correct things while struggling against incorrect ones. On a number of

important matters involving the line, whenever comrades of the leadership are not sober-minded enough, the worker masses should step forward and promptly write to the Party committee, put up big-character posters, raise questions, express opinions, criticize faults and help the leadership adjust its ideological and political line and persevere in revolutionary principles. After the synthetic rubber plant fulfilled ahead of schedule its target of the Fourth Five-Year Plan in 1974, its production stagnated for a while during the first half of last year. Some leading cadres of the plant Party committee thought that this was caused by the shortage of raw material. The worker masses of the polymerization workshop made an overall analysis of the situation in both revolution and production in the plant and concluded that the basic cause of passivity in production was not shortage of raw material but the complacency and ideological laxity on the part of some leading cadres. In a "short commentary" they pointed out that some leading comrades of the plant Party committee slacked off their study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and entertained the thought of "getting off the bus at the terminus." They demanded that the plant Party committee make a thorough ideological search for the cause and approach the issue from the standpoint of the line. The plant Party committee accepted the workers' criticism and held a session that same night. It mobilized the staff and workers of the whole plant to take part in the discussion and invited more than 200 worker representatives from the outside to attend an analysis meeting. After the line was adjusted and the means to solve the problem found, the passive situation in production was swiftly changed. This episode profoundly educated us. Practice shows that only by wholeheartedly relying on the worker masses and placing leadership in the hands of genuine Marxists and the masses of the workers is it possible to assure thorough implementation of the Party's line, principles and policies in the enterprise and to persist in the socialist orientation of the enterprise.

In relying on the worker masses in running an enterprise, their role as the main force must also be brought into play in the spheres of planning, designing and scientific research. In these departments intellectuals are concentrated in great numbers, the pernicious influence of "factory management by experts" is relatively deep-rooted, so that, unless we let the worker masses hold real power and occupy these positions, it will be quite easy for them to take the old road. Since the great cultural revolution, on the basis of heightened consciousness of class and line struggles on the part of the workers and staff, we have launched revolution in such fields as scientific research, designing and planning. From deciding on the direction of development and formulating plans to the formulation of every scientific research project, engineering task and proposal, we have relied on the worker masses and carried through the principle of "three-in-one combination" in the entire process. When drawing up long-term plans last year, we did away with the past practice of "letting technicians do the calculating, the planning department present the proposal, the leadership issue the order and workers do the job." Instead, we mobilized the masses and organized more than 1,200 persons to join the planning committees and groups at various levels. Many advanced personalities, members of the workers' theoretical contingent and technical innovation activists took up leading posts in planning. With the worker masses mounting the stage of revolution in planning, things have changed completely in planning work. Having gone through the process of innovation,

transformation and digging of potential, the production capacity of the methanol workshop of the chemical fertilizer plant rose 5-fold. Some said: "Now that we've come to the tiles of the roof, the bricks making up the crest of the wall, no one can go beyond that." The workers smashed such views of helplessness as "production has reached its limit" and embraced the thought of continuing the revolution that "there's no limit to production potential and no bounds to technical innovation." After making a scientific analysis, they proposed to convert the pre-rectification tower into a main rectification tower, thereby doubling the output of methanol. Thanks to reliance on the worker masses and shattering all conventional standards, a long-term plan was quickly drawn up which embodied both the revolutionary spirit and a scientific attitude.

Some people say that since industry is modern large-scale production involving strict technical requirements and complicated operating procedures and a great number of professional people and knowledge, relying on the working class alone would dampen the enthusiasm of other working personnel. This is a muddled view. Chairman Mao says: "The working class must exercise leadership in everything." The working class has the most thoroughgoing revolutionary character and the most political far-sightedness, and only by relying on it can the vast majority of people be united and initiative in all fields be mobilized to jointly strive for the great and far-reaching goal of building socialism and realizing communism. The worker masses being on the frontline of the three great revolutionary movements have the richest practical experience, are the cleverest, and have the greatest wisdom. Many problems which could not be solved by people who sat in the office looking up books, poring over data and quoting rules and regulations, were solved quickly when they were handed over to the masses for discussion and solution. In the past, when our company was under the influence of the revisionist line of running enterprises, we were used to the old way of "the leadership makes the rules, the managing personnel carry them out, and the workers follow them." Engineers and technicians and professional managers issued orders from their office; because they were divorced from both the masses and practice, blind and deaf as they were, clinging desperately to books and regulations, their role was greatly restricted. The participation of workers in the management led to profound changes in the relations of production in the enteprrise, and a brand-new management system with workers as the mainstay was established. Now, technical and managerial personnel have gone out from their offices and into the midst of the workers to integrate with them, serve in the workshops and teams, play the role of advisers and take part in production. As a result, their initiative and creativeness have been brought into full play. Take, for example, the transformation of the coal tar hydrogenation installation in the company's petrochemical plant. Before the great cultural revolution, the research institute of the company spent more than ten years on this project, conducting hundreds of experiments, but still it was unable to solve the problem of getting the installation started. With the advent of the great cultural revolution, scientists and technicians went to workshops and teams to practice "three-togetherness" with veteran workers. In only three months' time, they succeeded in getting the installation started, filling a blank in China's petrochemical industry. Facts fully show that only by relying on the working masses can the positive factors in all aspects of the enterprise be mobilized to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism. Otherwise, nothing will be accomplished.

In order to let the worker masses directly participate in the day-to-day work of management and to change management by a few to that by many, we also gradually establish a mass management system. This includes setting up a five-member management group in the various shifts and groups, developing red flag group activities, setting up economic supervisory committees, technical committees and innovation groups with workers as the mainstay. These worker managers do not detach themselves from production but work hand in hand with the masses of workers and staff to foster a high sense of responsibility as masters. An extensive and effective mass management network extending from politics to economics, from production to technology, and from cultural education to the well-being of workers and staff has been formed, and the enterprise management strengthened. We realize that only when workers take part in management can we thoroughly break those restrictive and coercive revisionist management rules and set up rules and regulations meeting the needs of the socialist economic base. Before the great cultural revolution, many of the rules and regulations in our company were copied from abroad or drawn up by a few people behind closed doors, divorced from the masses and from practice. They were harmful to the development of production. Said the workers: "Rules and regulations were numerous, they either rewarded or punished us." During the great cultural revolution, the revolutionary mass criticism raised our understanding. We turned against the old order of things, and handed the authority to revise and examine the rules and systems to the worker masses. We let the masses sum up the experience and make modifications first. Then we concentrated them and organized at regular intervals workers' examination groups to conduct a general examination of the management from bottom to top in order to expose contradictions and recommend amendments. Now we have gradually instituted seven systems including the system of specific responsibility at individual post, thereby making everyone responsible for a certain job, seeing to it that everything is taken care of, combining the various aspects of management in the enterprise with the socialist initiative of workers and staff in building socialism. Due to the change from supervision over the masses to supervision by the masses, a vivid and lively political situation has begun to pervade the enterprise in which there are both centralization and democracy, both discipline and freedom. The level of management has not been lowered but has been raised. This is a sound rebuttal to those fallacious charges that worker participation in management is "unscientific," "disruptive," weakening unified control and lowering the management level. Of course, this is not to say that our work in this respect is already perfect with no more room for improvement. Things always have to develop and progress. But the important thing is orientation, because when it is correct and as we advance along it with resolve, we will be able to continue to bring about improvement, enrichment and perfection in our work in the course of struggle.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The working class should also constantly raise its political consciousness in the course of struggle." To rely on the masses to run socialist enterprises well, we must arm the masses with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung thought, educate the masses, constantly raise their consciousness of class and line struggles as well as their socialist initiative, resist the erosion and influence of bourgeois ideas, and make them aware of their position as masters and the historical mission they shoulder. In order to realize this, in recent years we have taken class struggle as the key link,

persisted in conducting education on the Party's basic line, and,in close connection with the reality of class struggle in the enterprise, widely mobilized the worker masses to recall their family histories, the history of the plant, and the history of their own growth. We organized Party and League members to review the pledges they made at the time they joined the organizations, recall the past and compare it with the present as part of class education. At the same time, we organized the worker masses to read and study seriously, elevating their simple class sentiments onto the plane of theoretical knowledge. During the three great revolutionary movements, the worker masses have felt more and more that "we need Marxism in our struggle," and organized on their own accord theoretical study groups to strenuously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought. With their study of theory and being the masters supervising and managing the enterprise and vigorously building socialism, many moving deeds have appeared. The workers of the three main shifts of the synthetics workshop of the chemical fertilizer plant, in the course of studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, restricted bourgeois rights, broke the boundaries separating different kinds of work, organized on their own accord a "voluntary dispatch room," and became volunteer dispatchers themselves. They kept in constant touch with ten associated workshops and did everything possible to bring about the best operating conditions to insure that every shift attains high output. The workers of the concentrated niter workshop, at a time when their own workload was extremely heavy, spared some manpower to assist fraternal workshops. Practice proves that once the worker masses grasp Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought, they will generate unlimited power and perform any miracle on earth. Such views as "material incentives is still necessary" and is the "decisive motive force" in developing production spread by Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and their like are all revisionist fallacies!

"The masses are the real heroes." The practice of struggle in recent years has made us realize even more profoundly this unbreakable truth. We are determined to continue to coscientiously study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, make a further effort to establish the thought of wholeheartedly relying on the working class, take class struggle as the key link, carry forward the mass movement to learn from Tach'ing in industry in greater depth, and realize the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat at the grassroots level so that our enterprise will forever advance victoriously in the direction pointed out by Chairman Mao.

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Let the Bell of Educational Revolution Ring Throughout the Land

- A Few Words on the Main Theme of the Color Feature Film "Breaking With Old Ideas"

by

Fang O (方锷)

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The color feature film "Breaking with Old Ideas" is another victorious result of the revolution in literature and art which takes revolutionary model plays as its standard of excellence. The shooting of this film was very timely and its main theme is quite militant. Its public showing is a big impetus to the great debate on the educational revolution now being waged under the leadership of Party committees at all levels.

To eulogize and mold heroic images of the proletariat is the glorious historical task of socialist literature and art. The main theme of "Breaking with Old Ideas" is primarily embodied in the leading character, Lung Kuo-cheng, who is Party Committee Secretary of the Sungshan branch school of the Communist Labor University and at the same time the school's principal.

As the movie begins, Lung is working on a farm as its chief when the local deputy Party committee secretary, T'ang Ning, seeks him out for a chat and the audience learns that Lung had gone to K'ang Ta /University of Resistance Against Japan/ and heard Chairman Mao's lectures in Yenan. Naturally, this is only to show that Lung possesses an important qualification for holding his job as university president, but does not fully divulge his unique qualities as a Communist. Let us listen to a bit of conversation which does show his unique qualities.

This comes at a time in the movie when the two-line struggle is coming to a climax. At a Party committee meeting, vice president Ts'ao Chung-ho, who stubbornly pushes a revisionist educational line, speaks volubly of how he too had taken part in revolution during the raging war of resistance against Japan and how his ancestors had promoted education for three generations, as if he alone were most qualified to administer education. He is even so arrogant as to tell Lung: "I hear that you, president of this university, were still learning to read at Yenan!" Having said this, he rustles his sleeve with displeasure and leaves. With a calm gesture, Lung motions for the indignant Party committee members to sit down, and then he stands up slowly. Suppressing the emotion welling up within him, he says in a deep voice:

> "I am not like him. He joined the revolutionary ranks with culture as his capital; I took part in the revolution, bearing the whiplash of landlords and money-lenders. I, a cowherd, was illiterate when I arrived in Yenan. Without Chairman Mao, without the Communist Party, I was nothing."

Bearing the scars of the class enemy's whip and never forgetting them, he thinks in terms of the strong concept of class struggle just as the

"Communist Manifesto" has taught that scarcely "a minute" goes by without "correctly perceiving as far as possible the antagonistic opposition between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat." Unlike Kirov who nonsensically alleged that education meant that "the older generation" handed down its "experience and knowledge to the younger generation," Lung always puts the key link, class struggle, in command of all work on the education front. These are his unique and very valuable qualities.

He takes up his new post with the militant instance of one who stormed the enemy's pillboxes in the front in the early years. What should he do when confronted with students corrupted by the bourgeoisie? This is his answer: "Send those comrades who resolutely administer education in accordance with Chairman Mao's educational thought to occupy the position!" He is determined to transform the old school on the pattern of K'ang Ta and according to the outlook of the proletariat. Closely relying on the poor and lower-middle peasants, he smashes the framework of the old system for student enrollment, opens doors wide for the workers and peasants, and invites the old representative of the poor peasants association to take charge of the school, while he himself goes out with revolutionary teachers and students to reclaim wasteland, open up mountains, put up school buildings, and establish a new order for teaching that conforms to the production seasons for agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry;.....

All of this naturally provokes the resistance of the bourgeoisie who vainly take education as their hereditary domain. Thus, Ts'ao Chung-ho, protector of this domain, raises a query: "What is it you wish to run after all, a farm or a university?" According to the centuries-old traditional concepts of the exploiting class, Ts'ao maintains that a farm is only "for a few grains of millet" and nothing more, a coarse and lowly profession, but that a university is an academic institution to train "qualified persons of high, precise and advanced standards," a sacred and lofty pursuit. Mud and pearls simply shouldn't be mixed together. But Lung forcefully rebukes him with the old representative's two handfuls of mud. With the two handfuls of mud, he likens the yellow mud to production and the red to education; he kneads and braids the two handfuls together and then again make them into two handfuls, so that the red and yellow mud are thoroughly mixed. This simple metaphor contains a profound philosophical principle: knowledge comes from practice. "Practice, knowledge, again practice, again knowledge"--this is the only correct line of knowledge, which of course we must follow when we teach. If an agricultural university is located in the city or, even though it is located in the countryside, is separated by a "regularization" wall from the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants and their production activities, if trees are planted in the classroom and seedlings transplanted on the blackboard, can there be anything more absurd than this?

Although the film does not carry this idea further, we may still gain more enlightenment from the two handfuls of mud: education as part of the superstructure must be in the service of the economic base. The tone of Ts'ao Chung-ho when he spoke of the "few grains of millet" is one of scorn. It not only exposes his repulsive exploiting-class ideology but also shows how this self-appointed educational "expert" within the Party does not in the least understand the most basic Marxist principle that material production determines spiritual production and the economic

base determines the superstructure. Actually, ever since classes emerged from human society, education has always been an instrument with which one class exercises dictatorship over another so as to safeguard its own economic base. Not to mention preliberation, but in the 17 years after liberation up to the great proletarian cultural revolution, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in education was basically not carried out within educational circles and the bourgeoisie still exercised dictatorship over the proletariat. Most recently, some people reversed this verdict and publicly praised those "17 years." But the movie "Breaking with Old Ideas" vividly and graphically tells us that: To run socialist schools well, there is no alternative to making a thoroughgoing break with the revisionist educational line of those "17 years," and we must work against this erroneous line. The fate of the children of workers and peasants trying to gain admission into old universities is defined in the film in the following three ways: one, they were barred from admission by the various rules of student enrollment; two, when they did gain admission with luck, they were criticized and kicked out when they were found to deviate from the bourgeois set of rules; three, corrupted by the bourgeoisie, they were "indigenous in the first year, foreign in the second, could not recognize their parents in the third, and refused to go back to the rural areas and factories in the fourth." Can it be that we didn't have enough of such vivid lessons during those "17 years"? In one example from the film, there is the son of a poor peasant, steeped in the dye vat of the old university, who goes so far as to refuse to wear the coat his mother has laboriously sown for him because he dislikes its "rustic" look. The handling of this example in the film is deficient in that only Lung sees this, and it is not drawn into the broader vortex of the two-line struggle to exert a greater effect on the criticism of the old educational system.

Ts'ao Chung-ho smugly speaks of "this stuff" of the old educational system which he worships as the "heart's blood crystallization of a great many Chinese and foreign educators and the tradition of a great many years." That is certainly true. The problem is: "this stuff" is the "tradition" of which class? For which class did those "educators" spend their "heart's blood?" Bourgeois education has its so-called "traditionalists" and "modernists." The two schools often quarrel with each other over small matters but take a common stand on the matter of dealing with the proletariat and the laboring people. If there is any "merit" in "this stuff" from old things, it is what we can absorb from its negative experience, which is to "do unto them what they did unto us." The exploiting class exercised dictatorship over the laboring people for several thousand years, now it is our turn to exercise dictatorship over them. We must unswervingly implement the policy that "education should serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labor," and make schools into instruments for carrying out all-around dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. "Are there such universities in the world"? What a good question. Yes, we want to have schools that the capitalist world does not have. Isn't it a terrible thing if the line cannot be drawn between schools run by the proletariat and those run by the bourgeoisie? Then we will be in an awful mess! Our Lung Kuo-cheng answers aptly: "If the world does not have it, let us have it!"

Lung puts forward a clear-cut standard for judging whether or not a school is run well: "See what line it carries out and what kind of students it raises." He has a strong and deep class feeling for students at the

Communist Labor University and painstakingly trains them according to the proletarian outlook. He dares to smash the old school's outmoded entrance regulations, and bravely admits good youth Li Chin-feng, who has clear-cut class consciousness and practical experience in production. Lifting high the coarse and thickly calloused hand of Chiang Ta-nien, he solemnly declares: "To enter the Communist Labor University, the first qualification is to be one of the laboring people. The callouses on this hand qualify!" He has scoured the woods and mountains in search of this youth who had been driven out of school by the revisionist educational line, anxiously and warmly calling his name, shaking the whole mountain range with its echo. He resolutely supports Hsu Niu-tsai's revolutionary big-character poster criticizing the old educational system. He steps forward in support of Li Chin-feng's participation in the struggle against the "san-tzu i-pao" adverse current. He rolls up his trousers and leads the revolutionary teachers and students to the fields to do the spring planting;.....

All this naturally again arouses the resistance of the bourgeoisie. "If you do things this way, don't you still look like university students?" Ts'ao Chung-ho never likes to see students of the Communist Labor University whose feet are covered with mud. As to what university students ought to "look like," this vice president has his own standard: they should, first, "have a high level of scientific knowledge" and, second, be "farsighted and ambitious."

Knowledge! Knowledge! For many years "intellectual education first" has been used as a knife by the bourgeoisie to exercise dictatorship over us. Who says the Communist Labor University does not want knowledge? The question is what kind of knowledge and in what position the teaching of knowledge should be placed. Just as Lenin pointed out: "The old schools always say they want to raise people in an all-round way and what they teach are general sciences. We know this is an out and out lie." Actually, education is an instrument of class dictatorship, and the knowledge which it hands down is of necessity permeated with a profound class nature. Of all the books you open in a bourgeois school, which of them does not revere the bourgeois system of private ownership as something sacred? After capitalism entered the imperialist stage, agitation for outward expansion and aggression became the main course of instruction in its many schools. Several decades ago, Hitler frenziedly clamored for training German students to "become youths to awe the whole world." Today, several decades later, in the schools of Soviet socialist-imperialism, there now comes forth a successive clatter about the so-called "education of military patriotism." In both cases, the same kind of "knowledge," namely, fascist "knowledge," was imparted. Isn't Kirov's "Pedagogy," which Ts'ao Chung-ho goes all out to recommend, filled with a great many descriptions of how "adventurers and travellers" in the Tsarist period "induced" and "stimulated the students' adventurist spirit?" Can it be that people are still not clear about what kind of "knowledge" is propagated?

In the debate that resulted from Hsu Niu-tsai's revolutionary big-character poster "less talk about horses, more talk about pigs and cattle" Lung Kuo-cheng carried a basket of mildewed millet and further exposed the secrets of the old school's so-called "intellectual education comes first."

Faced with pigs and cattle covering the mountain slopes, people nonetheless still talked volubly about the function of the horse's tail; they talked about harvesting in a season of seed treatment or seed treatment in a harvesting season. Aren't instances such as these rather ludicrous in a school of socialist society? Of course, it is not enough to merely point out the uselessness of such "knowledge." Useless? To be sure, it is useless to the proletariat but very useful to the bourgeoisie. You take care of your spring planting and autumn harvesting, I talk about my X + Y; and precisely because my X + Y does not relate to spring planting and autumn harvesting, it shows itself to be all the more precious. Kirov once said that this kind of "knowledge" was "stable and reliable wealth!" If you have it, then it's the same as owning factories or land; it is negotiable capital, and whoever acquires more of it has more capital and his political standing ought to be correspondingly higher. What if you can't get it? There will be "natural selection, which is a law!" True, this is a famous law, that is, the capitalist law of free competition. Whoever is strongest in competition can climb to "the pinnacle of the pagoda" and become an intellectual aristocrat, and can be "far-sighted and ambitious." Whoever competes and doesn't make it falls down deservedly and ought to work for "a few grains of millet" as he is "short-sighted and devoid of ambition." One climbs up and the other falls down; this, from the Marxist point of view, is called polarization, or class differentiation. In the words of the deputy commissioner Chao in the film, this means "from each according to his ability!" Whether we are administering proletarian dictatorship or the socialist system, in this educational sphere of mine, if you please, we will follow the capitalist system of free enterprise as usual.--This, then, is the reactionary essence of "intellectual education first."

Obviously, our socialist university students cannot strive after the "style" advocated by Ts'ao Chung-ho. Can it be reckoned that students from the old university, who did everything possible and knawed through great piles of books to acquire that "style" in the 16 to 17 years from primary school to university, came away with a "high level of scientific knowledge?" As a matter of fact, those who worked the hardest and absorbed book knowledge that was nine parts worthless and one part distorted did so mostly to cope with their examination. The moment the examination was over, they forgot much of it. Had they forgotten all of it, it would have been better, for what was not forgotten remained in their heads, and the more of it was kept, the more deeply poisoned they became. They would no longer be willing to "identify" with the ordinary workers but singlemindedly seek to be intellectual aristocrats sitting high above the workers and peasants. Students of the socialist university ought to have their own style, their own vision and ambition, and this should be: "To develop morally, intellectually and physically and become workers with both socialist consciousness and culture." The students at the Communist Labor University have begun to do this and have thus received not only their "red papers" from the poor and lower middle peasants but also warm congratulations from our great leader Chairman Mao. What a great glory for the broad masses of youths and students throughout the country now taking the road of coming from the communes and going back to the communes!

Lung Kuo-cheng has a high sense of revolutionary militancy, a keen proletarian sense of what to love and what to hate, but he is surely not a man with only revolutionary pride but no understanding of revolutionary

strategy. Through practice, he has come to understand the peculiar stubbornness of old influences on the educational front, and that if we want to get rid of the influence of several thousand years of traditional thought and truly establish a proletarian educational system, we must persist in unremitting efforts over several decades or even over several hundred years. He is very good at mobilizing the activism of the revolutionary teachers and even warmly unites with, educates and transforms the likes of Sun Tzu-ch'ing, an old intellectual element whose mind is laden with bourgeois ideas; he fully affirms every small step forward taken by Sun. (We might say in passing: the film does not seem to criticize such individuals as Sun adequately from the world outlook.) In handling his relationship with Ts'ao Chung-ho, Lung also complies with the organizational principles of the Party. From their differences, he always strives for a new unity by way of strictly principled struggle. When the revolutionary teachers and students ask, one after another, that classes be transfered to the fields during the farm season and Yü Kang, master of the agricultural machine specialty class proposes that the bell be rung immediately, Lung Kuo-cheng still says cooly: "No, let me go talk once more to president /sic/ Ts'ao." Only after he has three times failed to persuade Ts'ao does he finally resolutely decide to ring the bell. The clarion call of the bell shakes the March fields south of the Yangtze and reverberates in the hearts of the people. The sound of the bell proclaims that the old educational system is dying out and a new one is being born!

The image of principal heroic character Lung Kuo-cheng embodies the main theme from the positive side while the image of Ts'ao Chung-ho as his principal opponent highlights the main theme from the negative side. Ts'ao is a typical intellectual capitalist. He not only takes his knowledge as capital but even regards his participation in revolution as negotiable asset. "For my several decades of revolution, shouldn't I be able to have a discount coupon?" Even when several decades of "revolution" are to be exchanged for a discount coupon, he still feels that this still can't be reconciled with the principle of equivalent exchange! However, his daughter, Communist Labor University student Ts'ao Hsiao-mei, openly exposes this despicable exchange of his in front of everyone, and tearfully shreds the discount coupon to pieces. This is a very moving moment in the film. Hsiao-mei's act is a profound exposure of Ts'ao Chung-ho's class essence and is an admirable break with old traditional concepts!

The reason why Ts'ao Chung-ho dares to stubbornly hold fast to the revisionist educational line in this way is because he is propped up from behind by capitalist-roaders such as deputy commissioner Chao. Most recently, some strange talk in educational circles fashioned a disguise for the long discredited bourgeois rightist opinion that "outsiders cannot lead insiders" and that education "must have outsiders keen on science in charge." Who wants to see such "keen" outsiders? Deputy commissioner Chao is a typical model. He is, to be sure, a 100 percent outsider so far as proletarian education is concerned, but as for the bourgeois stuff he is most "keen"! As soon as this newborn thing, the Communist Labor University, appears, he hurriedly issues an order for things to "be run according to our style and regularized." The so-called "our style" is nothing more than the revisionist "style"; "regularization" is nothing more than going bourgeois. This "keen" outsider is indeed very much an insider when it comes to promoting revisionism. He is "wiser" than Ts'ao Chung-ho in that he knows even more how to represent the bourgeoisie

in attacking the proletariat, and that education is not merely a question for the educational sphere, but is a major matter related to the general issue of which class is to exercise all-round dictatorship. He knows that there are many comrades in our Party like Lung Kuo-cheng who adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and this is a very great obstacle to his catching up with the "waves of the time," that is, restoration of capitalism! Therefore, he issues the frenzied call: "We must do battle with them, we must transform them!" This revelation and treatment of the plot in the movie plays a very great role in adding depth to the main theme. It tells us: due to the existence of such characters, it is impossible to truly carry out the educational revolution well or to make a thorough break with the old teaching ideology and educational system in the teaching profession alone, or by relying on one or a few schools, or by relying only on the educational front itself. Just as Chairman Mao has pointed out: "In the past, we waged struggle in rural areas, in factories, in cultural circles and carried out the socialist education movement. But we were unable to solve problems because we had not discovered a form or method to openly mobilize the broad masses from bottom to top and in a general manner to lay bare our seamy side." Six years after the story of the struggle occurred as reflected in the film, namely, 1966, our Party finally discovered such a form; this was the great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao and participated in by hundreds of millions of revolutionary people.

Today, it is close to ten years since the start of the great proletarian cultural revolution and a series of profound changes have already occurred on the educational front. From Shanghai's "July 21" Workers' University to Liaoning's Chaoyang Agricultural College, newborn things of the educational revolution have sprung up everywhere. The situation is very excellent, but the struggle is still very fierce. Chairman Mao has time and again taught us: "Never forget classes and class struggle." Most recently, he again pointed out: "Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it." If the great debate on the educational front is to gain further victories and the educational revolution is to be further improved, we must not forget this key link. On precisely this point, the main theme of the film "Breaking with Old Ideas" is of a relatively profound and immediate significance.

Before concluding this article, we would like to say a few words about the creation and filming process of this movie. By coincidence, the actual shooting began on July 27, 1975. "July 27" is a day which has great significance for our country's educational history. On this day in 1968, Chairman Mao personally sent worker-propaganda teams to Tsinghua and Peking Universities which propelled the whole country toward a new high tide in the educational revolution. But in the three months of July, August and September last year, a rightist wind to reverse verdicts and negate the educational revolution was stirred up in educational circles which served as a reflection of the struggle between the two classes and two roads in society and between the two lines in the Party. Before the filming of "Breaking with Old Ideas," some people said the script for this play was "a product of the ultra-Left trend of thought." There were also people who were worried that the making of this film would be "too risky" for the producers. However, comrades of the studio heroically accepted this task with the support of the higher Party committee. They went down deep to take part in labor with the Chaoyang

Agricultural College and the Kiangsi Communist Labor University, to get the feel of real life. They received a great deal of support and encouragement from the Party committees and revolutionary teachers and students at these two universities. When they were filming on site in Kiangsi, some strange talk began to spread. Summer in the south is very warm and the rightist wind to reverse verdicts once again blew as if to overawe them. But the comrades of the production group stood firm and resisted it! They studied a series of Chairman Mao's brilliant directives on the educational education again and again, restudying the valuable experience of the revolutionary model plays and resolutely writing this eulogy to the educational revolution.

More than ten years ago, with the direct support of great leader Chairman Mao, Lung Kuo-cheng in the film rang the bell for the educational revolution, and this was an important first step. The excellent situation brought about by the great proletarian cultural revolution has created favorable conditions for us to advance the educational revolution. Under the direction of Chairman Mao's proletarian educational line, let us ring the bell still louder for the educational revolution!

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The Surging Torrent of Socialism

- Comment on book-length novel Rolling Waves

by

Ma Lien-yü (马联玉)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 2, Feb. 1, 1976)

Our great motherland is in an important stage of historical development. Guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the revolutionary torrent of socialism is surging forth like rolling waves. Profound changes have occurred and are taking place in our country in the relations of production, production forces, the economic base and the superstructure.

Since the great proletarian cultural revolution, impelled by the model revolutionary stage productions, vast numbers of literary and art workers, striving to keep pace with the times, have ardently endeavored to reflect the great life and uninterrupted development of the socialist revolution. In terms of agricultural themes, works that portray agricultural cooperativization, the people's commune, and the countryside from the socialist education movement to the great cultural revolution have appeared. The book-length novel Rolling Waves (written by Pi Fang and Chung T'ao and published by the People's Literature Publishing House) depicts the militant life of learning from Tachai in agriculture. Its account of how T'iehling Brigade, in a certain locality in the Northeast, relies on the collective economy to bring about agricultural mechanization serves as an eulogy of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The story begins with a Party committee meeting of T'aiyangsheng People's Commune held in 1965. The meeting raises the following thought-provoking problems: What are the new features of the struggle between the two classes and the two roads in the countryside as a result of the excellent situation in the acclerated development of the socialist collective economy? How do the rural cadres take class struggle as the key link and tackle agricultural production? What do they learn from Tachai and how? These questions draw the attention of Hung Ch'ang-ling, the principal character in the novel and T'iehling Brigade's Party branch secretary. They will also arouse the concern of the readers.

The novel vividly tells us that learning from Tachai in agriculture means firmly adhering to the Party's basic line, taking class struggle as the key link, constantly studying Marxism, and repudiating revisionism and capitalism. It also calls upon us to display the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle and carry forward the communist work style of cherishing the country and the collective, to develop China's socialist agriculture at the maximum possible speed. Led by Party Branch Secretary Hung Ch'ang-ling, the poor and lower-middle peasants of T'iehling take Tachai as an example and keep to the socialist orientation. Displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle, they put forward a set of new schemes aimed at bringing about agricultural mechanization by relying on the collective economy. This projection demonstrates their lofty

aspirations for continuing the revolution, a new offensive against the capitalist forces. Just as a stone causes ripples and waves to spread, T'iehling Brigade's new project stirs up an acute and complex round of struggle. By depicting this round of struggle, the novel provides people with profound education by raising the issue of learning from Tachai in agriculture to the plane of the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines.

From the novel we observe that the overthrown exploiting classes will not be reconciled to the loss of their dominant position in the political and economic spheres. They resort to whatever means that could split and disintegrate our ranks by worming their way in or pulling people out and seek and foster agents inside the Communist Party so they could plot restoration of the old system. This is true of the activities carried out by Wang Ch'eng-kou, a reactionary rich peasant, and Black Face Yen, a counter-revolutionary element. Under the iron fist of the dictatorship of the proletariat, they "move about like ghosts," listening attentively when things occur in our society and "gnashing their teeth" when the masses of people come up with some great innovations and their living conditions improve significantly. They are bitter about their overthrow and constantly think of taking revenge, hoping all the time of restoring their former positions and seeking to hamper and wreck, under the cover of the Right-deviating opportunist line, the mass movement of learning from Tachai in agriculture. However, their counter-revolutionary activities cannot but end in total failure.

The struggle between the two classes and the two roads is likewise reflected within the ranks of the people. Since the economic foundation and ideological influence of small production have not yet been eliminated, the spontaneous capitalist tendencies among a section of the rich peasants tend to assert themselves and this provides the soil for the generation of new bourgeois elements in the rural areas. The corrupt practices of class enemies and the erosion of bourgeois ideas cannot but influence certain comrades among the people and even among our cadres as well. Lo Kuei-t'ang, a rich middle peasant, and Hsing Lien-ch'eng, brigade leader, are typical characters.

Lo Kuei-t'ang is of one type. To support his family in the old society, he had to move about on both sides of the railway tracks as a pedlar. In those days he was often taken to the "bamboo enclosure" by the Japanese gendarme and bullied by the landlords and rich peasants. After liberation he appears to have fared much better, but he still hopes to get rich quick and aspires to a status beyond the reach of his fellow poor villagers when the moment is ripe. He is therefore skeptical of learning from Tachai in agriculture. Under the prevailing general trend, he may take a few steps forward along the broad socialist road, but from time to time he inevitably turns back and follows the reactionary adverse current whenever there is an opportunity for him to do so.

Hsing Lien-ch'eng is of another type. In the old society both he and Hung Ch'ang-ling, fleeing from famine, had begged for food and experienced untold sufferings in their youth. After liberation both joined the Communist Party, battling against the landlords and fighting for their emancipation. However, lacking the fervor to continue the revolution when the socialist revolution is developing excellently, Hsing stops advancing. He has no faith

in the long-term prospect of "hard struggle" and thinks only in terms of how to get more money out of the allocation program, so he could lead an easy and comfortable life. As a result, he falls behind the mass movement. After he is criticized and educated by the masses during the great proletarian cultural revolution, he returns once again to the fold of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Hsing's image thus serves as an example for present-day rural cadres. Since learning from Tachai in agriculture and popularizing Tachai-type counties is a great revolutionary mass movement under the condition of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building up socialist agriculture, it is a new test for rural cadres at all levels. If one, like Hsing, departs from the Party's basic line, forgets classes and class struggle, and gets bogged down by the small producer's traditional concepts and practices, he may be induced by the class enemy or the spontaneous forces of capitalism to leave the correct track of learning from Tachai in agriculture.

Rolling waves is successful in that it takes hold of and portrays in a striking manner the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines in real life. It vividly illustrates that the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture must adhere to the Party's basic line, take class struggle as the key link, and continuously battle against the revisionist line, the class enemy and all erroneous notions before it can develop socialist agriculture with greater, faster, better and more economical results.

After the introduction of the people's commune system, Chairman Mao pointed out: "The fundamental way out for agriculture lies in mechanization." In 1964, he issued the great call "Learn from Tachai in agriculture". However, Liu Shao-ch'i and his ilk frenziedly opposed "Learning from Tachai in agriculture." Spreading fallacies on the question of agricultural mechanization, they viciously charged that the poor and lower-middle peasants "cannot afford to buy, manage and use properly" farm machines. They sought to deprive the revolutionary masses of the right to operate mechanization of agriculture in a vain attempt to restore capitalism in the countryside. In the novel the person who does his best to push Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line and is hostile to the masses of the people is Kuo Huai, a deputy Party secretary who runs the county Party committee. He was formerly an intellectual who had not properly remolded himself, and as a cadre, he has long divorced himself from the practice of the three great revolutionary movements and from the worker-peasant masses and discriminated against them. His world outlook is geared to the stuff preached by Liu Shao-ch'i and therefore he is a ready-made promoter of the revisionist line. It is he who rejects the purchase of tractors with collective funds proposed by the poor and lower-middle peasants of T'iehling, in favor of Hsing Lien-ch'eng's erroneous program of "distributing all and eating all." It is likewise Kuo who suspends the county-run "five small industries" and strongly objects to the move of T'iehling Brigade to repair a broken tractor and to form a part-industrial and part-farming, Red and expert agricultural mechanization contingent. When the T'iehling villagers refuse to carry out his erroneous line and advance in big strides, he goes so far as to use his authority to threaten the transfer of Fang Liang, who heads the machinery repairs section of the brigade, and relieve Hung Ch'ang-ling of his Party post, branding Hung, a pace-setter in taking the socialist road, as an "anti-Party" person. Hung and the revolutionary masses are thus put to an acid test. At this juncture, the great proletarian cultural revolution, personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao, begins.

Placing this round of struggle in T'iehling against the historical setting of the struggle between the two headquarters and the two lines within the Party, Rolling Waves positively depicts how Hung Ch'ang-ling leads the brigade's poor and lower-middle peasants to raise aloft the big banner of rebelling against reactionaries and battle against the capitalist-roaders in power within the Party and against the revisionist line. The novel's depiction of this round of struggle illustrates that the "great proletarian cultural revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism." The novel is conceived on the basis of Chairman Mao's wise thesis. The embodiment of this guiding principle provides the novel with depth and breadth in the treatment and exploration of the subject matter. This theme in terms of present-day struggles is still fraught with profound educational significance.

As an artistic model of countless heroes that have emerged from the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture, Hung Ch'ang-ling, like many basic-level rural cadres, believes in the truth that only by following Chairman Mao and the Communist Party in making revolution can the laboring people emancipate themselves and become masters of the country. Guided by the Party, he once led his class brothers in setting up mutual-aid teams, running cooperatives, and going through the commune movement. He has abundant practical experience. His study of Marxist theory and protracted tempering in the fighting life gradually makes him into a conscious vanguard fighter of the proletariat who is armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. In the face of storms and stresses, he is sober-minded and sharp-sighted, never giving up in despair when struggles encounter twists and turns, let alone befuddled by false impressions. In his long fighting journey, he is guided by a lamp in his mind, that is, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. When the capitalist forces pound at him like a hurricane and when Kuo Huai uses assorted revisionist fallacies to lure this indomitable socialist pace-setter, his reply is terse and to the point: "Despite innumerable changes, a few rules have been firmly planted in my mind. Rule No. 1, keep to the socialist road. Rule No. 2, keep to the road of mechanization self-reliantly. Rule No. 3, keep to the dictatorship of the proletariat." This is the oath of a Communist Party member, a summation of the historical experience of hundreds of thousands of revolutionary peasants. It is also a convincing embodiment of the Marxist theory transforming into a formidable material force among the masses. Although a fuller portrayal of this character may seem more desirable, the demonstration of the Marxist revolutionary spirit of going against the tide is clear and impressive.

Fang Liang, Hung's capable assistant, is a young Communist Party member tempered in the crucible of the people's army, a representative of a fine breed of new rural cadres. At the time of his retirement from the army, he voluntarily comes to the countryside after giving up a better job in the city. He aspires to sweating it out and promoting radical changes with the vast numbers of poor and lower-middle peasants, in an effort to contribute his bit toward building a socialist new countryside. His revolutionary action is countered by jeers, by force of habit, with the class enemy spreading rumors to attack him and with Kuo Huai obstructing him. When he applies

himself to repairing the tractor from dawn to dusk, Kuo orders him to quit the village and report for work in the city, on pain of "reconsidering his Party membership." Under the pressure of revisionism, Fang neither retreats nor wavers. Instead of pondering over his personal gain or loss, he is concerned with this development: "Hasn't the first socialist state in the world turned revisionist? The question placed before members of the Chinese Communist Party is whether to adhere to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought or to accept the revisionist trash. Every Party member and cadre must answer this question unequivocally!"

Hung Ch'ang-ling and Fang Liang come from different generations and differ in their personal experiences and background. But sharing the same class destiny, accepting the same education in the Party's correct line and fighting together make them take the same stand in the forefront of the socialist revolution and the struggle against revisionism. When the struggle becomes acute and complex, both are able to consciously apply the Party's basic line to examine their surroundings and happenings, linking their struggle with the countrywide struggle. This process of assimilating experience and increasing one's courage and faith in winning victories in the struggle distinguishes our real life proletarian heroes and brings out their most shining qualities. With Communist Party members like Hung and Fang, representing the older and younger generations, and with the vast numbers of the revolutionary masses they have united with, such as the old blacksmith, Lao Hsin-t'ou, Hsing Ku-yü, Hsing Chih-ying and others who resolutely take the socialist road, is there any citadel in the world that we cannot capture and any difficulty that we cannot surmount? The fact that T'iehling Brigade succeeds in bringing about mechanization and semi-mechanization during the great cultural revolution by relying on its own efforts reveals the truth that the historical tide of socialism cannot be resisted by anyone or any force. Just as Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Almost everywhere there are opportunists who try to stem the tide, but the tide is irresistible. Socialism advances everywhere in triumph, leaving behind all stumbling-blocks."

From different aspects the novel unfolds a thriving picture of the socialist countryside in China. In respect to linguistic art, the result achieved is gratifying. The author excels in assimilating the animated language used by the multitude, language that is charged with vitality. This is also true of characterizations and depictions of the rural scene. For instance, in liberating their minds and surmounting every difficulty, the revolutionary masses of T'iehling use their hands to restore the "T'iehling No. 1" tractor to good condition. On the eve of testing the vehicle, the novel gives an impressive description of how the red sides of the "red iron ox" are painted with characters in white signifying "self-reliance" and "hard struggle."..... This not only expresses the jubilation of the revolutionary masses over their fruitful endeavor but also vividly illustrates their support and love of the Party's line and policies. The characterization of Ku-yü, a big chunk of a man, in a moving scene more than anything else serves to bring out the zeal of the masses and set it off to good advantage. It is necessary to make an effort to polish the language used in literary works, not depending on the kind of "inspiration" obtained by working behind closed doors, as preached by Lin Piao. In the first place, the writer must have the thoughts and feelings of the workers, peasants and soldiers and learn from their language. The creation of Rolling Waves shows that if literary and art

workers fail to take the road of integrating with the workers and peasants and fail to learn humbly from the masses, they will not be able to master the rich vocabulary and animated language used by the masses.

The novel is not without shortcomings and failings. Viewed from the relationship between class struggle and line struggle, the portrayal of Black Face Yen at times drifts from the main thread of the plot. The final section of the novel dwells too much on the twists and turns of the plot, at the expense of effectively molding the image of Hung Ch'ang-ling, the principal character and hero in the story. Moreover, in depicting the agricultural mechanization movement, the novel falls short of fully bringing up those important subjects of historical significance, such as the worker-peasant alliance and gradual narrowing of the three major differences.

As early as the upsurge in agricultural cooperativization, Chairman Mao pointed out in his comments on a dispatch written by a pace-setter in the agricultural cooperativization movement: "There are no fewer than tens of thousands of such heroes in China, but unfortunately our writers have not looked for them." This was intended as criticism for literary and art circles at that time as well as a battle call to all revolutionary writers and artists. Following the great proletarian cultural revolution, tens of thousands of new heroes have appeared and will appear from all fronts to set new tasks for revolutionary literature and art. In reviewing Chairman Mao's directive at this juncture and drawing on the lessons and experience of history, we should all the more plunge ourselves into the three great revolutionary movements, look for heroes, learn from and write about them. In this way we will be able to produce more and better works in praise of the surging torrent of socialist revolution.

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Large Tractor and Small Loaf of Bread

by

Ching Ch'ih (景池)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 2, Feb. 1, 1976)

Ever since the Khrushchev-Brezhnev renegade clique came to power, a specter has been haunting it. This is the miserable Soviet agriculture. To drive the specter away, Brezhnev has delivered innumerable speeches, vowing to lead Soviet agriculture "onto the road of perpetual upsurge." But the results have been all but wonderful. According to data published by the Soviet official quarters, during the 11 years Brezhnev has been in office from 1965 to 1975, agriculture suffered reduced output in 7 years. Last year was the worst. Soon after the harvest season was over, shortage of bread and other foodstuffs was reported in some villages from Leningrad to Siberia. That in a self-styled "developed socialist" country the broad masses of people have to go hungry makes the most strange news of our time.

Besides this piece of strange news, there is yet another. In February and March last year, following the 6th year of reduction in grain output, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique had the nerve to stage "celebrations" to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the agricultural policy laid down by Brezhnev. Books and articles were published and report meetings were held, raising a big fanfare that kept everyone quite busy for some time. The keytone was none other than this: Brezhnev "made tremendous personal contributions" to Soviet agriculture.

What are Brezhnev's "tremendous personal contributions"?

It is said that Brezhnev proposed to "make strenuous efforts to strengthen the material and technological foundation of agriculture" and to "further strengthen and perfect the machinery-technical bases," so as to make agriculture "attain a high level of production within a short period of time." It is true that more machines were produced over the last few years. According to official Soviet statistics, the total number of tractors in the Soviet Union exceeded 2 million in 1974, with increases also reported in the number of combine harvesters and heavy-duty trucks. Compared with the time of the old Tsars when there were only 8 million crude iron plows and 2 million wooden ones in the villages of the whole country, the "material and technological foundation" of Soviet agriculture today is indeed sufficiently "developed" and "modernized." But, strange as it may sound, the effect produced by those 2 million or so tractors does not even match that of those iron and wooden plows in the era of the old Tsars. Soviet grain production in 1975, calculated in per capita averages, was lower than the 1913 level, but attained a new "height" in crop harvest since the Soviet revisionist renegade clique rose to power!

One feature of the tractors is that they have become increasingly large in size! To "raise production efficiency," Brezhnev repeatedly demanded high-power tractors. In 1968 tractors generally had 75 horse power; in 1975, tractors of 300 horse power appeared. However, they contributed little to boosting the output of grain. As it has not been enough to purchase large

quantities of grain on the international market, so not long ago a new gimmick was played by asking food plants to produce more "small-sized loaves of bread." It is claimed that if only "more small things and small-sized loaves of bread are baked," "people will not over-buy." Leaving aside the question of whether small-sized loaves of bread can really fill people's stomachs, the mere fact that tractors have become larger and loaves of bread smaller is truly ironic to the self-styled "developed socialist country."

Brezhnev's "personal contributions" also include "paying special attention to the work of cadres." On the average, each collective farm and state farm have 16 and 30 diploma-bearing experts respectively; there leadership is held by experienced organizers who have received specialized education. In most agricultural districts Party committee secretaries have a higher education level, and in each district Party committee there is a secretary who is an agricultural "expert." Since these experts master "science," according to revisionist logic, Brezhnev, with both machines and experts, should logically overcome the agricultural crisis and drive away the specter haunting him. Unfortunately, however, these experts do not have many tricks up their sleeves. Let us see how these experts who have usurped the leading positions in collective and state farms run agriculture:

The chairman of the "Communist Road" Collective Farm issued more than a hundred penalty orders in a single year, and on the average one out of four farm members was punished;

The director of the "Victors" State Farm issued 223 orders in one year, ordering the punishment of 125 farm workers and inquiries to be made into so-called "material responsibilities" involving 350 others. Some 250 workers were forced to leave.

Relying on experts in the management of agriculture is bound to lead to the dictatorship of the minority over the majority, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat. A kolkhoz member whispered to a foreign correspondent: "If you mention my name, I'll be finished. They will drive me out of here in an hour or punish me even more severely." He added: "I earn 50 rubles a month, and this will be reduced to 30 in winter. How can one live on 50 rubles? This is no life at all; it is subsisting on bread, potatoes and tea. I haven't eaten any meat for months now. Look at my rags; I don't even have the money to fix them up. I hope you can visit my little flat and see what kind of clothes I must provide for my daughter. But the bigshots of the farm are building a garage for their private cars." Scenes such as this cannot but remind us of dark Russia in the mid-19th century. At that time, Dubert (杜别尔特), fierce dog of the Tsar, yelled: "In our Russia, scholars should act like those pharmaceutists who possess both medicine good for health and poison, and, moreover, they should release their knowledge only according to government prescriptions." Others claimed that the people of Russia could "live peacefully in satisfaction and happiness" only under the authority of absolute monarchy. Such "peace" and "happiness" were symbolized by the chains and dungeons of Nicholas I. In the Soviet Union today, we see a revival of old scenes in the time of the old Tsars where the laboring people were oppressed and exploited.

However much the Soviet revisionist renegade clique tries to present an era of peace and prosperity, it can in no way cover up the sharp class antagonism between a handful of the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie and the broad masses of the laboring people. "This fact indicates more clearly and more convincingly than any argument how deep are the contradictions inherent in the capitalist utilization of machinery." (Lenin, "The Development of Capitalism in Russia") The Soviet Union surely has realized a little bit of mechanization and modernization, but in a country that has gone totally capitalist and fascist, modern machinery is but an instrument with which the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie exploits and oppresses the broad masses of laboring people. Heavily oppressed by the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie, laborers have lost all production enthusiasm. Among the various factors making up the productive forces, the decisive one is man, not matter. Machines and equipment are undoubtedly important factors of production, but without man to operate them, they are just a pile of scrap iron, however great in quantity and power. Therefore, although from 1966 to 1974 nearly 2.8 million tractors were delivered for use throughout the Soviet Union, it was reported, only 700,000 units were actually put to use with the rest lying idle. A Mexican newspaper disclosed at the end of last year: Both Soviet and foreign correspondents had on many occasions pointed out the following scenes of desolation: thousands upon thousands of tractors and harvesters were left by the roadside and in collective farms; due to lack of maintenance and repair, they were allowed to rust in the fields..... The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything. So long as the revisionist line continues to rule the Soviet Union, the country will never be able to free itself from agricultural crises, nor will the specter haunting Brezhnev go away.

Russia's
Forests, pastures, and rivers,
Are beautiful in the spring.
But your farms in the spring
Look depressed and withered,
Leaving a gloom in people's hearts.

With these verses, the famous Russian poet Nieklasov (涅克拉索夫) lashed out at the Tsarist serfdom. Today, under Brezhnev's rule, is there not the same depressing scene over the steppes of Russia? As to agriculture's "road of perpetual upsurge" and "tremendous personal contributions," they are merely blowing their own trumpet. "Stop your windy nonsense! Look you, the world is being turned upside down." The day when the vast realm of Russia will be turned upside down is certain to come.

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